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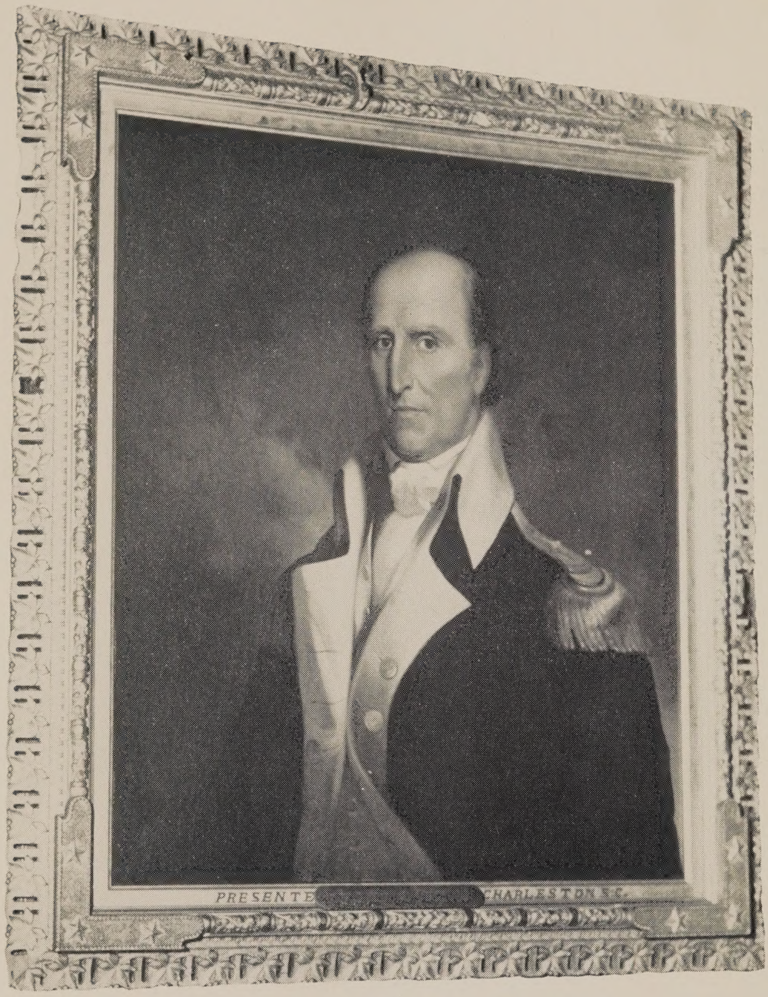
PRESENTE
CHARLESTON S.C.

GENERAL ANDREW PICKENS

From a copy of the Portrait by Thomas Sully. Courtesy of the Carolina Art Association.

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THE FIGHTING ELDER

Andrew Pickens (1739-1817)

"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."
Attributed to the Reverend Francis Makemie,
pioneer Presbyterian divine.

Alice Noble Waring

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To

My Grandsons

AL, BILLY, AND JACK LOFTON

Foreword

THE BIOGRAPHY of General Andrew Pickens and the history of the upper country of South Carolina, during the Revolution and post-war period, are so closely interwoven that it has been impossible to write of one without including the other. Much of the biography may appear to be a report of Pickens' activities rather than an interpretation of the man. As a matter of fact, that has been more or less my purpose, to give authentic account of the hero and the tumultuous times in which he lived.

Wherever possible, excerpts from original letters have been used with no correction of spelling or sentence structure, but an occasional change in punctuation where necessary for clarity. By reading Pickens' own words and those of his contemporaries, I believe that the reader can more accurately gauge his character and influence.

The search for material has taken years and has carried me far afield. But the work has been both stimulating and absorbing. In the process of writing, Andrew Pickens emerged from the shadows of history as a vital personage. On many occasions, I have felt that "I was there." It is my hope that the reader will experience something of the same feeling about this man who contributed so much to the founding of the United States of America.

I am deeply grateful to all those who have aided me in research on this book. With their gracious cooperation the work has been both pleasant and rewarding.

Special thanks are due to those who have given me permission to quote from their books.

I am also indebted to Mr. David C. Mearns, Chief, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; Mr. Richard G. Wood, National Archives; and Major General William E. Bergin, Office of the Adjutant General, Department of the Army, all in Washington, D. C.

I received generous help from Dr. R. L. Meriwether and the staff of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. At the South Carolina Archives Department, also in Columbia, Dr. J. H. Easterby, Mr. F. M. Hutson, and other staff members gave me invaluable aid in helping decipher original manuscripts. Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., of Columbia, an able historian, was most helpful. My appreciation goes to Miss Cornelia Graham, Librarian, Clemson College, for the privilege of examining the Calhoun papers and correspondence. Others in South Carolina who furnished information were Mrs. Mary Hemphill Greene, Abbeville; Mr. Harry L. Watson, Greenwood; Mrs. Kate Pickens Day, Easley; Dr. Nora Davis, Troy; Mrs. Julia Pickens Hunt, Greenville; and Mrs. Sallie Jones Alexander, Tamassee. Francis Pickens Bacon of North Carolina made available manuscripts and letters which had never been used. Dr. A. L. Pickens of Charlotte rendered more information.

I wish to express my appreciation to the librarians and directors at the Henry E. Huntington Library, Duke University, Clements Library, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, New York Public Library, Long Island Historical Society, and Georgia Archives Department, for photostats of original letters and the permission to use them.

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ALICE NOBLE WARING

December, 1961

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CHAPTER I

Into the Wilderness

ANDREW PICKENS was about thirteen years old when he and his family, with their friends, finally arrived in the Waxhaw section of upper South Carolina. They found a wilderness of rolling uplands here and there crossed by an Indian trading path. Acre on acre spread out covered with cane fields and woodlands, interrupted occasionally by outcroppings of granite. But it was good land. The Scotch-Irish pioneers had been sure of that before they decided to buy it, settle down, and build their homes in the early 1750's.[1] Andrew, Sr., took up holdings in both Carolinas, and few settlers were certain as to which colony claimed their citizenship since the boundary had not been determined. When disputes as to who lived where resulted in quarrels and more serious fights on occasion, the older Pickens was called on to act as magistrate or militia officer in settling the arguments.

The Pickenses established their home in the Waxhaw area whence the Indians of that name had recently moved to join the Catawbas on the other side of the Catawba River. Their homestead was the culmination of a long overland trek from the Pennsylvania frontier that had begun about a dozen years before. Andrew, Jr., born September 19, 1739, was only an infant when the family left Paxton Township in Bucks County and went down the Shenandoah Valley into Augusta County, Virginia.[2] With them were relatives and old neighbors—Calhouns, Nobles, Montgomerys, and others. They settled about eight miles west of present-day Staunton for a few years,[3] before moving on through North Carolina to the Waxhaws in South Carolina.

Young Andrew Pickens' grandfather, William, was the first of the family to arrive in America. Probably after the fall of Limerick, William and his wife Margaret left Ireland and sailed to Philadelphia, where they joined a group of Germans and moved on to the western frontier of Pennsylvania.[4] Some decades earlier, their forebears, Robert Pickens and his wife Ester Jane Bonneau, had fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 to Scotland and from there they had gone to Ireland.[5]

In the journey from their Pennsylvania home to the South Carolina settlement, the Pickenses and their Scotch-Irish friends and relatives had become thoroughly acquainted with frontier life—its promises and threats, its peace and its dangers. They cleared out the woodlands, built cabins and cattlepens, laid out farmlands, and organized a church. Oftentimes the meeting house was surrounded by a stockade where settlers took refuge when Indian attack threatened.[6]

The Waxhaw area, however, was more peacefully situated than many other communities where the Scotch-Irish from the North were becoming established in the twenty-odd years before the Revolution. The Catawba Indians were noted for their friendliness toward the English, and a series of treaties had just been concluded which would hold off the Cherokees, who lived within sixty miles of the Waxhaws.

The Waxhaw Presbyterian Church was the first church to be organized in the Up Country of South Carolina, and the Pickenses were staunch supporters. Andrew, Sr., one of the trustees for the "meeting house," saw that his family attended services every time they were held by visiting ministers and probably young Andrew was an attentive listener when the Rev. Hugh McAden visited their home after service on November 23, 1755, and spent the night with the Pickenses.[7]

Sermons were long in those days, and the congregation sat in reach of their rifles, while outside a guard kept watch against a surprise attack from the Indians or bands of cutthroats who roamed the forests. In this atmosphere of rifle and religion there is little wonder that throughout his life Andrew Pickens, Jr., held the two inseparable.

But not all life in the Waxhaws was devoted to song and prayer. There were strife and misunderstandings as with any other people; and the father was often called on to settle the disputes.[8] On such occasions young Andrew liked nothing better than to listen to the cases that came before his father's court, thereby gaining an early respect for the law.

When word reached the Waxhaws of Indian uprisings in the North, the elder Andrew Pickens organized a company of militia. Andrew, Jr., was among the first of the volunteers.[9] About that time, a stream of settlers, driven south by Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755, poured through the

Waxhaws. Among them were the Calhouns en route to the land beyond the Saluda River. Thus Andrew Pickens, Jr., met his future wife, Rebecca, the daughter of Ezekiel and Jean Ewing Calhoun.[10]

The following year, Andrew Pickens, Sr., died. The home farm, destined to go down in history not only as the home of a Revolutionary general, but also as the birthplace of President Andrew Jackson, was left to Andrew and his brothers, Joseph and John.[11]

The father's death ended young Andrew's hope for a classical education.[12] The next few years he followed the pursuits of the frontier, where he learned the ways of the red men and the mode of survival which one day would mean the difference between life and death for him and his family.[13]

Young Pickens, who got to know the Cherokees as few men did, watched with increasing alarm the white man's civilization encroach upon the red man's domain. He knew the proximity of the settlers' cabins disturbed them. Where once there was silence broken only by the song of a bird or the cry of a wild animal, the chop of the ax and the crack of the rifle then shattered the peace.

He understood the apprehension of the red man as he saw his villages and hunting grounds threatened. Over and over, in his own mind, he questioned the right of the settlers. Were the Indian's motives less noble than those of the newcomer when he sought to hold the land that had been his heritage for more years than he could remember? Why should he not resist a power which would dispossess him?[14] Thus it was that Andrew Pickens' sense of justice for the Indian had its beginning, which in later years resulted in his becoming one of the country's foremost negotiators with the Southern Indians.

Meanwhile the Cherokees were preparing for action. A network of paths threaded the wilderness, and along these paths the wrath of an angered people mounted, and clashes occurred more and more frequently between the two races. The Cherokees fell upon the frontier settlements, scalping and murdering their hapless victims. On February 1, 1760, twenty-three settlers fell in the Long Canes massacre, among whom was the matriarch of the Calhoun clan. During the fight Becky Calhoun crouched unnoticed in a canebrake and remained there until her uncle, Patrick Calhoun, returned to rescue the wounded and bury the dead. When the task was finished, they hastened to join the other survivors who had fled to the Waxhaws.[15]

There the blue-eyed, black-haired Becky met Andrew Pickens once again. In her middle teens, she had developed into a beautiful young woman, "graceful in her movements with a girlish playfulness that never deserted her, even in old age."[16]

The quiet, rather shy Andrew Pickens immediately fell under the spell of her charm and vivacity.[17] But before the romance could develop, he was called to the Congarees trading post to join Colonel Archibald Montgomery's expedition against the Cherokees.[18] Indian towns and villages were destroyed, warriors were slain, and prisoners were taken.[19] The campaign ended but the Cherokees were not conquered, and in a short time hostilities were resumed. Homes were burned and settlers scalped. Once more Andrew Pickens, with a company of Up Country men, rushed to the aid of the stricken frontier.[20]

From Charleston another expedition, under Lieutenant Colonel James Grant, was ordered to the frontier. On May 14, 1761, Pickens, who had become a lieutenant, joined the troops at Ninety Six. Although the youngest officer in the company, he soon gained the respect of his fellow officers.[21] On one occasion, during an ambush in a mountain pass, he and his men were cut off from the main army; had it not been for Henry Laurens, who rushed to his rescue, Pickens' career might have ended there.[22]

Towns and villages were laid waste and fields were ruthlessly burned by the whites. Pickens sickened at the destruction and, in later years, said it was then he first learned of British cruelty.[23]

Attakullakulla, the Cherokee chief, sued for peace and Lieutenant Governor William Bull granted his request. But the war with the Cherokees left a smouldering hatred between the two races. The so-called peace was an uneasy armistice for the Up Country. Nowhere was a treaty line observed, and the Indians waited, alert for an opportunity to avenge themselves, keeping up a desultory warfare until after the Revolution.[24]

Pickens returned from Grant's expedition and found that many changes had taken place in his home. His mother had died, his sisters had married, and his brothers did not need him. He constantly thought of Becky Calhoun, and after his fighting, he hurried back to the Waxhaws only to find that she had moved to Long Canes with her family. His apprehension increased as he realized that all that stood between her and the waiting Cherokees were twenty men who had been enlisted by Patrick Calhoun.[25]

Probably this was what inspired him to remove to Long Canes and secure land. He sold his Waxhaw property, took up holdings in the Calhoun community, and on March 19, 1765, he and Becky were married. Tradition says that it was the biggest wedding ever held in upper South Carolina. The "infare" lasted three days. In later years Becky's wedding was often used as a date in reckoning time, while many couples remembered it as the occasion when their own romances began.[26]

Andrew took his nineteen-year-old bride to their new home near the present town of Abbeville. He had chosen the site because of the big spring nearby and because it was a favorite stopping place for travelers from the Low Country to the Savannah River.[27] Becky made friends with the people who camped under the big trees beside the spring. Friendly and gay, with a "cordiality . . . peculiar to the Calhouns," she welcomed contact with the outside world. Her high spirits brightened the gatherings and she acquired the graces which in later life caused her to be recognized as one of the most gifted and educated women of her day.[28] Like many girls of her time, her education had not come from fashionable boarding schools, but from growing up in the company of thinking men. In time, the charm and beauty of Rebecca Pickens, who was a heroine of the Revolution in her own right, became a tradition in that part of South Carolina.[29]

Even though peace prevailed for a time, in 1768 Andrew Pickens built a blockhouse near his home for the safety of his wife and children in the event of an Indian uprising. The foundation was of stones, but the fort proper was built of logs. A stream of water from the nearby creek was diverted by tunnel beneath the fort, whereby the occupants might obtain water by lifting part of the floor.[30]

Nearby, under a large chestnut tree, church services were held with visiting ministers in charge.[31] After a few years a meeting house was built, and Pickens was made an elder.[32] One of his duties was to assist in examining members to determine their fitness to receive communion. Those who were adjudged prepared for the service were given tokens which were collected as they were served at a long wooden table in the "meeting house."

When he built the blockhouse, Pickens enjoyed a brisk trade with the Indians. Seldom a day passed that the Cherokees did not come with ginseng, pink root, beaver and deer skins, and bear hides to trade with him. To take care of the increase in business, Pickens built a warehouse on the Savannah River, opposite Augusta, where the articles were stored until he could send them down the river to Savannah and Charleston.[33]

By inheritance, marriage,[34] and hard work, Pickens became a prosperous man.[35] Energetic and industrious, he raised horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry. Wheat and corn, the money crops, were ground into flour and meal at local mills. As nearly as possible everything that was used on the plantation was made at home, even whiskey and brandy. Twice a year he drove large herds of cattle to Philadelphia and brought back supplies.[36]

But along with the growing settlements and increasing prosperity were other factors with threatening implication. As a whole, the Up Country people, who lived some 200 miles from Charleston and had no voice in the affairs of the province, were not particularly concerned over the dispute that was growing with the mother country. Pickens perhaps was one of the few exceptions. He did not believe in taxation without representation, and when the Stamp Act was passed, no one opposed it more than he.[37] His stand on the issue carried weight with his neighbors, for they had grown to respect this quiet, hard-working man who thought much but said little.[38]

However, despite the political unrest and the continual rumors of trouble from Charleston, the duties of church, family, and business absorbed him so completely for a time that history all but forgot him.[39]

But he was not long destined to pursue the life of a country squire. Rebellion broke out once more on the frontier. This time the instigators were not Indians, but outlaws and fugitives who had come into the Up Country from other colonies.[40]

Prior to the influx of criminals, the frontier population had been in a state of resentment against royalist lawmakers at Charleston. Petitions had been drawn up and sent to the capital, asking for lower taxes, a local government, and representation in the Assembly. While the Up Country waited to hear from the petitions, hordes of outlaws, believing that they were safe in a country where there was no law, swarmed in.[41]

Impatient at the delay of the reply, Becky's Uncle Patrick Calhoun and several others appeared before the legislature at Charleston and asked for help and consideration on July 4, 1768. Standing upon their rights as citizens, the grim-faced men demanded the same privileges that were given to the other taxpayers, such as public roads, courts of justice, and representation. These Scotch-Irish Presbyterians also asked the predominantly Anglican-church lawmakers for help such as the Low Countrymen had received in building churches and schools and in securing ministers.[42]

The government dallied, refused to take a stand, and conditions in the Up Country rapidly grew worse. Pickens' business, like that of others, suffered. And on October 4, 1773, he mortgaged two of his slaves, Dick and July, to John Gervais, a merchant at Charleston, for 1,560 pounds.[43]

Thus prosperity on the frontier declined. Men dared not leave home for fear their houses would be broken into, their families attacked, and their horses and cattle stolen.[44] In desperation, a group of citizens, realizing it was useless to expect help from Charleston, formed a league of law and order known as the Regulators. Taking matters into their own hands, they rounded up the outlaws (whom they called Scovillites after Scoville, their leader), whipped the culprits publicly, and destroyed their homes. The Scovillites promptly sued them in the courts in Charleston, and the Regulators were ordered to pay heavy fines. The Regulators appealed to the governor and he dismissed all the cases except eight. But the Scovillites ignored the decision and rearrested the Regulators without warrants.[45]

When the governor did nothing to enforce his decision the hope of reform vanished, and by fall the country was in open rebellion. When a court of justice was finally established at Ninety Six, in 1769, hatred and strife were too widespread to be checked by any form of law. As antagonism between colonies and the Crown increased, the Scovillites joined the Tories; while the Regulators formed the basis of the Whig party.[46] Apparently Pickens was not an active Regulator, but he was a staunch member of the Whig party and supported the cause it espoused.[47]

CHAPTER II

Frontier Fighting

THUS, a war had already begun in the Up Country sometime before actual revolt came to a head in Charleston.[1]

The thickly populated settlement of Ninety Six, about twenty-two miles east of Pickens' home, was in the heart of the turbulent area. From time to time the fortifications there had been strengthened particularly as war became imminent.[2]

Early in July, 1775, a letter from the newly organized Council of Safety in Charleston was circulated in the Ninety Six area. "In this conspicuous and ever memorable year," the Council wrote, "America has been abused, and Britain has disgraced herself. . . . The King's troops have at length commenced hostilities against this continent."[3] An account of the battles of Concord and Lexington followed. "Let it be delivered down to posterity," the letter continued, "that the American Civil War broke out on the 19th day of April, 1775. An epoch, that in all probability, will mark the declension of the British Empire."[3]

The president of the Council of Safety, Henry Laurens, enlisted the aid of Pickens to prepare the way for W. H. Drayton, and the Rev. William Tennent, Presbyterian minister, whom he was sending to explain to the people of the Piedmont the nature of the dispute between Great Britain and the American colonies.[4] Laurens was aware of the explosive conditions there and urged that they try to settle their own differences and unite in signing the pact, known as the Association, when it was presented to them by Drayton and Tennent.[5]

Pickens immediately set to work, but by the time the two men arrived, wild rumors were rampant. Lawless bands infiltrated the area and then proceeded southward. Loyalist Thomas Brown, who had been tarred and feathered in Augusta, Georgia, was in the Up Country stirring up trouble against the Whigs. A letter from the British agent, Alexander Cameron, to Andrew McLean confirming an alliance between the Indians and British had been intercepted and made public.[6]

Not long after Tennent's arrival in the Up Country, he learned that Lieutenant Governor William Bull had ordered Major Joseph Robinson, an Up Country Tory, to enlist men in the King's name, promising them commissions and pay after they had served ten days. He wrote the Council of Safety that he believed that they were "nearly ripe to show themselves." Furthermore, it was reported that Cameron and three thousand Cherokees would join the Tories. "The Tory leaders," Tennent wrote, "seem determined . . . to bring the people to draw blood before they have time to be enlightened."

Resuming his tour, William Tennent stopped in the Long Canes community where he spoke for two hours to a large congregation in one of the Reverend John Harris's "preaching sheds." When he returned to Samuel Reed's, where he was staying, he was accompanied by Andrew Pickens, Patrick Calhoun, and other men who spent the evening discussing with him the situation that confronted them.[7]

Although divided in their sentiments, most of the Long Canes people were in favor of the Revolutionary measures and had already taken steps to defend themselves by forming three companies under Major Terry, Captain Andrew Pickens, and Captain James McCall. Short of ammunition, the three officers urged Tennent to ask the Council of Safety to send powder and other supplies to them. Tennent immediately dispatched a letter by Reed to explain the situation to the Council and ask that the ammunition be brought secretly by Reed on his return to the settlement.[8]

As Drayton and Tennent went about the district urging the people to sign the Association, they were met by such men as Thomas Brown, Moses Kirkland, Robert and Patrick Cunningham, and Thomas Fletchall, who opposed the pact and never allowed an opportunity for insult or argument to pass.[9]

Rumors of all sorts spread among the settlers. Fort Charlotte (on the Savannah River), report said, was to be attacked and taken from the Patriots; Kirkland, who had previously accepted a commission from the Provincial Congress, was ready to attack Augusta and Fort Charlotte along with Patrick Cunningham and the notorious Brown.

Believing the rumor, Drayton directed Major Andrew

Williamson, who was in charge of the Whig militia, to send reinforcements to Fort Charlotte,[10] and companies were ordered to the vicinity of Augusta to meet the attack there. Williamson marched with three hundred men, including Pickens' company, to Harden's Ford on the Savannah River, thirty miles above Augusta. This sudden action on the part of the Whigs no doubt deterred the Tories; but the troops had to remain for some time to guard the approaches to Augusta.[11]

When the attack failed to materialize, Drayton retired to a camp near Ninety Six where he was joined by Williamson's company. Meanwhile, the Council of Safety, having heard of the strength of the Tories, ordered Drayton to discharge the militia as soon as he could do so with safety. Therefore, on September 16, when Fletchall, the Tory leader, made overtures, Drayton met him and concluded a treaty. The companies of Pickens, Terry, and McCall were dismissed and the men allowed to go home.[12]

But the so-called peace did not last long. On his mission to the Up Country, Drayton had had a "talk" with the Cherokees. In an effort to keep the Indians friendly to the colonies, he had promised to send them a supply of ammunition. The Council of Safety had complied with his request and, on October 4, dispatched a wagon with a thousand pounds of powder and two thousand pounds of lead. Unfortunately, just at this time the arrest of the Loyalist leader, Robert Cunningham, became known. His brother Patrick with sixty other men immediately went to his rescue. When they failed in the attempt to free Robert, the band waylaid the wagon and seized the ammunition. Then they spread the word that the powder was on the way to Colonel Richard Pearis, a wealthy Indian trader, to be distributed to the Indians for use against the Tories.[13]

As soon as Williamson heard of the raid, he sent a letter to Cameron, informing him of the seizure and requesting that he explain it to the Indians lest they take revenge on the people along the frontier. He further stated that unless the ammunition were returned he would be forced to take steps to recover it, and in that event it would be necessary to punish the offenders.[14]

Meanwhile, Colonel Pearis switched his allegiance to the King's party and made an affidavit which affirmed that the ammunition was on the way to the Indian country for the purpose of bringing the Cherokees down upon the King's men.

As the news spread, recruits, spurred by the false affidavit, joined the Tories in great numbers. Meanwhile since Drayton's demonstration, the Whig forces had deserted by the hundreds until there was only a token force under Williamson's command. Some of the twenty-five captains had less than a corporal's squad. Alexander Noble, Andrew Pickens' brother-in-law, had two officers and two privates; Hugh Middleton, one officer and two privates; and McCall and Pickens together had only the combined number of eleven officers and eighty privates.[15]

Dividing his time as much as possible between the duties of a soldier and the protection of his family, Andrew Pickens set to work to fortify the blockhouse. The stockade was strengthened, and a passageway or palisade of heavy timber, standing upright, was built from the stockade to the powder magazine which had been built on top of the hill.[16]

Although Williamson did not believe the rapidly expanding Tory forces would attack his camp, Pickens felt they would. When word was received November 18 that they had crossed the Saluda River and were marching against the Whigs, Pickens, having completed the work on the blockhouse, was already back with his company. As soon as the intelligence of the advance was made known, James Mayson, who had recently joined the forces with thirty-seven rangers, proposed that they advance to meet the enemy instead of waiting to be attacked.[17]

Williamson joined Pickens and the other captains in a council of war to consider Mayson's proposal. After some discussion, they agreed to abandon the present camp and go to Colonel Savage's plantation on the other side of Ninety Six. Separated from the village by a small stream, the camp could be fortified and the artillery used to a better advantage in the cleared ground.[18] Once the decision was made, the Whigs lost no time in making the change. Thus it was that seven months after the battles of Lexington and Concord, Andrew Pickens prepared to raise his sword against Great Britain.[19]

Early the next morning the Whigs started the erection of a fortification of old fence rails between a barn and some out-houses. But before the work was completed, a large body of Loyalists, with drums beating and colors flying, approached. Surrounding the half-finished works, the enemy took possession of the village and the spring, which was only three hundred yards from the fortification.[20]

With their water supply cut off, the Whigs dispatched an officer to determine the Tories' intentions. When Robinson and Cunningham, the Tory leaders, refused to confer with him, Williamson sent Major Mayson and John Bowie. The meeting took place between the lines, in plain view of both sides. The Tory terms were immediate surrender of arms and dispersal, with the parting suggestion that the Whigs be kept inside the fort as it was the only place they would be safe. But before Williamson had time to consider the terms, two of his men, who were standing nearby, were seized.[21]

He immediately ordered their rescue. As a result a "warm engagement" took place, lasting from three o'clock Sunday afternoon until Tuesday at sunset. Hiding behind houses, trees, and fences, the Tories spattered the crude fort with bullets, while the Whigs returned the fire, stopping only when it got too dark to see.

The next day the Tory commander Robinson again demanded Williamson's surrender. Although suffering from the lack of water, the Whigs refused. Instead they set about digging a well inside the fortification.

Calmly, Andrew Pickens went among the men, encouraging them as they dug for water throughout the night. As a rule he was a man of few words, but the greater the crisis the more he would talk until the emergency had passed; then he would lapse into comparative silence with noncommittal remarks, unless directly addressed.[22]

The following day the men struck water at forty feet. Though still out-numbered, now that they had water to go along with their four beeves and thirty-eight barrels of flour, their spirits lifted and they applied themselves cheerfully to the defense of the fort.[23]

Tuesday dragged by, and as night approached a sortie was planned to be carried out after dark. Groups of twenty men under Andrew Pickens, James McCall, Middleton, Robert Anderson, Sinquefield, and Colson were to attack at different points simultaneously. But just before the attack was launched, the Tories, having heard that reinforcements for the Whigs were on the way, waved a white flag from the jail window and asked for a conference with the commanding officer.[23]

When the request was granted, a messenger approached, bearing a lighted candle and a message asking the Whigs to give up their arms and disperse. They were given one hour in which to answer the demand, but before the time was up, Williamson had sent John Bowie with the unanimous answer of all the officers: "We are determined never to resign our Arms."

When Bowie returned, he was accompanied by Patrick Cunningham who asked to speak to Williamson. After the two had talked together for some time, they agreed on a conference to be held at eight o'clock the next morning.

At the appointed hour, Major Williamson, accompanied by Pickens and Bowie, met Major Robinson, Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis. After some discussion it was agreed that there would be a cessation of hostilities. Their differences were to be submitted to Lieutenant Governor Bull and the Council of Safety; the Tory commander was to retire over the Saluda River; all prisoners taken by either side since November 2, the day of the capture of the ammunition, were to be set free; the Whig fort was to be burned to the ground and the well filled up; twenty days were to be allowed for messengers to return from the royal Governor and Council of Safety; and both sides were to observe the cessation of hostilities during that time, whether or not reinforcements were received by the Whigs.[24]

The articles were agreed upon and were ready for signatures when a disturbance was heard outside. Three or four hundred Tories surrounded the house and said that if the Whigs' swivel guns were not given up they would not abide by the Articles of Agreement. The Tory leaders promised the Whig officers that if they would agree to such an insertion in the Articles, they would return the swivels. The Whigs agreed, and the Articles of Cessation were signed on November 22, 1775. The swivels were returned as promised on November 25, and Williamson sent them to Fort Charlotte.[25]

Meanwhile, Colonel Richard Richardson, who had been ordered to the Up Country by the Council of Safety, decided that he and his men were not bound by the Articles of Cessation. Acting upon this assumption, he immediately set about to punish the powder raiders. The Tories, however, had disbanded and were scattered throughout the region, but many of them, among whom were Fletchall and Pearis, were tracked down and sent to Charleston as prisoners.[26] The other Tory leaders managed to escape to the Cherokee nation.[27]

Meanwhile, the forces under Major Williamson, including Andrew Pickens and Thomas Sumter, having waited for the expiration of the time specified in the Articles of Cessation, joined Richardson on December 20, the last day of the treaty.[28]

The next day Richardson dispatched them and others to penetrate the Cherokee Nation to the Great Cane Brake on Reedy River, to capture the remaining Tory leaders. After a march of twenty-five miles, the Whigs came within sight of the Tory campfires. Taking advantage of the dark, they surrounded the sleeping camp and waited for day. At the first streak of dawn they struck and completely routed the Tories. In the confusion, Patrick Cunningham escaped on horseback. One hundred thirty prisoners were taken, along with seven kegs of powder and other equipment.[29]

In his report to the Council of Safety, Richardson wrote: "Some six of the other party, I am told were killed; happily the men were restrained or every man had died." The remaining Tories escaped to the Cherokees.[30]

On December 23, 1775, the expedition returned to camp. Soon afterwards the biggest snow ever seen in that section began to fall. For thirty hours it fell and for eight days Richardson and the men with him were snow-bound. Then a sleet storm set in, followed by a heavy rain that melted the snow and sent the streams out of their banks. The Whigs were not prepared for such weather and many of them were badly frost bitten. When the "Snow Campaign," as it was later called, ended, the men marched home in knee-deep slush.[31]

While the Provincials on the coast were clearing the harbor at Charleston of British ships and debating the terms of a constitution for the state, the whole western frontier was again ablaze. Families were murdered and scalped; prisoners were taken and tortured at the stake; houses were plundered and burned. No white settler was safe with the Cherokees on the war path. Major Andrew Williamson called for volunteers to join the militia against the Indians. Plantations and crops were abandoned as the settlers hurried their families into the crowded forts.[32]

At Fort Pickens, as the Pickens' home and blockhouse was called, neighbors and friends gathered. Pickens gave instructions for the defense of the fort and hurried to join his command, grown to regimental strength, stationed at Holmes Field near DeWitt's Corner, now Due West, South Carolina.[33]

On July 16 he led his men off to Baker's Creek, having a four hundred-fifty-man regiment. The following day Patrick Cunningham and Richard Pearis, who had been released from jail in Charleston, came into the Whig camp and asked to join the expedition against the Cherokees. When some of the men threatened to mutiny if those two were allowed to stay in camp, Williamson advised them to go home.[34]

Pickens felt that it was a mistake to turn Patrick Cunningham away. He was a man of ability and influence, and Pickens believed that if he had been appointed colonel of the Ninety Six regiment when it was organized, instead of Mayson, he would have made a better officer, and the opposition to the Patriot cause would not have been so violent in that section.[35]

After a three-week delay two regiments of a thousand men under Pickens and Williamson were ready to march. In Pickens' regiment were his brother, Captain Joseph Pickens, John Norwood, and Anderson.[36] On July 29, their base camp was set up in a small valley deep in the Indian country. It was soon apparent to Pickens that Williamson "had no knowledge of Indian warfare." Despite Pickens' warning that Williamson was giving the Indians "constant notice" of their position, Williamson continued to betray his location by sounding the morning and evening formations for the troops.[37]

On July 31 word came that thirteen hundred Indians, under Alexander Cameron, the Tory leader, were encamped on Oconore Creek, thirty miles away.[38] At six o'clock Williamson, with three hundred and thirty men, set out to surprise them. Feeling safe under cover of darkness, he failed to send scouts ahead; but he did take the precaution of having Pickens bring up the rear with reinforcements. Shortly after midnight, near the Indian town of Seneca where he had planned to cross the Keowee River, Williamson rode into an ambush.[39]

When Pickens heard the firing, he hastened to the scene of battle. Calling to his men to dismount and let their horses go, he ordered them to fire upon the yelling Cherokees. From a small ridge above the Indians, Pickens' men poured a relentless fire into their ranks. The horses, rearing and plunging, added to the confusion. The Indians took cover behind the trees where they returned the fire. The engagement lasted about twenty minutes before the Cherokees withdrew, carrying their dead with them.

As soon as it was daylight the dead were buried at the foot of an up-rooted tree and the wounded were sent with James Noble and a guard back to camp.[40]

To avenge the loss they had suffered, the Whigs set fire to Indian towns on both sides of the Keowee River. All the provisions, including six thousand bushels of corn, were also destroyed.

When Williamson failed to capture Cameron, he returned to the camp at Twenty-Three Mile Creek and started preparing for an attack upon the Lower Towns. On August 4, he camped on Twelve-Mile River and sent a detachment to destroy Sugar Town, Soconee, and Keowee. Four days later, six hundred and forty men razed Estatoe and Tugaloo.[41]

On August 10, while Pickens and his men were crossing the Tugaloo River, a party of Indians fired on them from a mountain spur. No one was hurt, but just as Pickens raised his feet to keep them out of the water, a musket ball passed through the saddle-skirt and into his horse. The troops surrounded the spur and killed several Indians. Seeing that they were in danger of being "hemmed in," the warriors fled.[42]

Ranging in front of the main army, Andrew Pickens was constantly exposed to danger, and on one such occasion he was surprised by the Indians. Quickly dispatching runners to the rear with the intelligence of his plight, he arranged his men in a position to hold the Cherokees until reinforcements arrived. When the soldiers of the main army came up, they found Pickens and his officers engaged in prayer, led by the chaplain, the Reverend Robert Miller.[43]

Deep in the Indian nation, Williamson, who had proceeded as far as the upper part of what is now Pickens County, halted for a few days' rest and to gain intelligence of the enemy. Pitching camp on the banks of Little River, on August 12, he sent Pickens with twenty-five men, and Cornell, a half-breed Indian scout, to reconnoitre the adjacent country.[44]

The party had not gone more than two miles beyond the river when they came to an old Indian field covered with tall grass. As they crossed it, one hundred eighty-five braves in war paint rose in a circle about them. Armed with guns and tomahawks, the Indians closed in on them. At the chief's command to scalp the handful of white men, the Indians dropped their rifles and advanced with raised tomahawks. Cornell translated the command. Pickens quickly ordered a counter circle to face the warriors, instructing each man to sell his life dearly and not to fire until he did. "Fire in relays," he said, "two at a time, then fall into the grass, reload, rise, and fire again."

Holding their fire until the Indians were within twenty-five yards, Pickens and Cornell fired. Two warriors fell. In quick succession the men carried out Pickens' orders. The warriors, recoiling upon one another, wavered. Some of them, however, dropped their tomahawks and fired upon the whites, wounding Cornell. Desperately the encircled men fought, rising and firing in relays at the oncoming Cherokees. Occasionally a warrior would break through the ring, and a bloody hand-to-hand fight would follow. At the height of the fight, Pickens choked his rifle, but snatching up the wounded scout's gun, he continued firing "until some eighty-three of the Indians were dead or wounded and every white man was literally covered with blood."

Back at camp, Joseph Pickens had heard the guns and with a few volunteers rushed to his brother's aid, although some of the men had tried to stop him, saying that it was only the crack of burning cane and not guns that he heard. The Cherokees, however, had suffered such heavy casualties that they had begun to disperse when Joseph arrived. Beside himself with anger, Joseph loudly accused those who had not joined him of being cowards. Puritanical in speech, Andrew remonstrated with Joseph about his violent language.[45]

The success of Pickens' plan and his obvious courage during the Ring Fight inspired the Indians to give him the name, "Skyagunsta," meaning Wizard Owl or Great Warrior.

After the Ring Fight, Williamson's forces proceeded to Tamassee on the headwaters of Little River where they found fresh evidence of the enemy. Halting, Williamson ordered Pickens out to reconnoitre with a party of sixty men. Upon reaching a creek, Pickens sent Anderson and twenty-five men across the stream to scout the opposite side, while he and the remaining men pushed deeper into the Indian country.[46]

Pickens had not gone far when he saw two warriors and fired upon them. The Indians, sounding the war-whoop, fled—closely followed by Pickens' men. A short distance away, they encountered about three hundred Cherokees who had apparently set a trap for Pickens and his men. Determined this time to destroy the white men, the Indians fell upon them. Although greatly outnumbered, the soldiers fought savagely, shooting and clubbing with their rifles.

Fortunately, Anderson, who was not far away, heard the firing and quickly recrossed the creek to fall upon the enemy's rear. Williamson had also heard the shooting and hastened to the scene. Although still outnumbering the whites, the Indians gave way, leaving sixteen dead in a hundred-fifty-yard space. The Whig losses were two dead and twenty-one wounded.

A few days later, Pickens and his men met the Indians at Estatoe and again forced them to withdraw. A systematic razing of the country got under way. The towns of Tamassee, Cheowee, and Estatoe were leveled. All the corn eastward from the middle settlements was destroyed, leaving only roots, berries, and wild fruits for subsistence.

After the raids, the troops were ordered back to the main camp. The men in the camp on Twenty-Three Mile Creek, suffering from exposure and lack of clothes, were given furloughs until August 28, when they were to join the army at Seneca.

The six hundred men under Williamson and Pickens proceeded to Seneca, where Fort Rutledge was erected and named in honor of John Rutledge, governor of South Carolina. Although commander-in-chief of the expedition, Williamson had not been made colonel of the Ninety Six regiment. When his belated promotion came through, Andrew Pickens was made a major.[47]

By September 1, the South Carolinians had an army of twenty-three hundred men at Seneca. Leaving three hundred to guard the new fort, Williamson and Pickens set out on Friday, September 13, to join General Rutherford, of North Carolina, in the middle Cherokee settlements.[48]

Accompanied by a group of Catawba Indians who served as guides, they camped two days later on the Tugaloo River at the mouth of Warwoman Creek. The next day they passed through Rabun Gap and descended the Tennessee River. On Tuesday, the army reached Coweechee, where they were to join General Rutherford, but they found the place deserted.[49]

Resuming the march, the troops reached Cowee on the 18th and the following day fell into an ambush at Black Hole on the Coweechee River, nine miles south of the present town of Franklin, North Carolina.[50] A bitter fight followed in the narrow mountain pass, and had it not been for the timely arrival of Lieutenant Edward Hampton the outcome might have been disastrous for Williamson's and Pickens' troops.[51]

After several days' rest they continued their march and a few days later overtook General Rutherford at Hiwassee. Aided by the North Carolinians, the South Carolina troops, under Major Pickens and other officers, proceeded to destroy the Valley Towns. Each day new towns were added to the list and the Cherokees were driven to the Overhill Settlements or forced to seek refuge with other tribes.[52]

At last the campaign was over. But before breaking camp, the Reverend James Hall of North Carolina conducted a thanksgiving service. Hearts were filled with gratitude as the weary troops listened to the official account of the campaign: two thousand Cherokees and ninety-nine whites died, and a number of white prisoners had been set free.[53]

With only a few towns left and their nation destitute, the Cherokees, on May 20, 1777, yielded their claims to all the lands in South Carolina except a narrow strip along the Chattooga, in the present county of Oconee. Yet, so precarious were the times that no settlers moved in until after the close of the Revolution. In fact, in his reports at that time, Williamson did not mention a single white family living north of the Pickens blockhouse.[54]

But even with the signing of the peace treaty, some of the Cherokees remained hostile, refusing to be a party to the cessions of territory to the Carolinas and Virginia. And when old Attakullakulla sent word that he had five hundred braves ready to fight for the Patriots, Dragging Canoe, with several hundred warriors and their families, left the Upper and Middle Towns and went down the Tennessee River to Chickamauga Creek, declaring that he would remain with Cameron and continue to wage war against the white men who had forced him from his hunting grounds.

However, all the ill feeling of the Chickamaugas, as they now called themselves, was not directed toward the white settlers. Hard feelings had existed for some time between the Upper and Middle Cherokee Towns, and at one time it looked as if civil war within the tribe would break out. But, now, dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty, the disgruntled warriors had solved their own differences by moving away. They were later joined in their newly settled towns by elements of Creeks, Shawnees, disaffected whites, and the Tory colonel, Thomas Brown. From this vantage point numerous raids on the frontier were planned and directed.[55]

In order to cope with this situation, the North Carolina Congress passed an act providing for several companies of rangers to be posted along the border. But, even with this provision, word of Creek atrocities along the Georgia frontier came to Pickens at Long Canes.[56]

During Pickens' absence, his family was frequently threatened by the Tories and on several occasions had been forced to hide in the woods until the danger of raids had passed. The Cherokees, however, believing that the tall, slender man who rode so fearlessly among them bore a charmed life, did not molest the blockhouse but passed it by and fell upon his neighbors.[57]

Often during the troubled times that kept Pickens away from home, his wife and children accompanied by the slaves had to move into the blockhouse. One night, awakened by the sound of loud voices, Becky saw the torch applied to the house where she had gone as a bride. She quickly placed the sleeping children in the arms of the servants and they slipped quietly out of the stockade and into the woods.[58]

The summer had been unusually wet with heavy rains.[59] Stagnant pools steamed under the trees, but Dick, Pickens' body servant, made a shelter of cane for his master's family. Several of the children had fever, and when morning came tell-tale signs of smallpox spotted their faces.[60]

The baby died, and Becky thought that if it had not been for the faithful Dick they would all have perished. Each night he slipped back into the blockhouse for supplies, and when at last it was safe to return, he took them home.

CHAPTER III

Florida and Kettle Creek

THE UP COUNTRY enjoyed a brief respite from war in 1777, and plans were made for peace. Men must be educated to uphold the ideals for which Pickens and his neighbors had fought. Realizing that this responsibility would one day fall upon the young people, he joined the Mt. Zion Society that had been founded in 1776 near modern Winnsboro to educate the sons and daughters of the settlers.[1]

Meanwhile, the leaders in Charleston were planning complete independence. Although a separate government had been set up in 1776, most South Carolinians hoped that understanding could be reached with England. Two years later this was obviously impossible and the government was reorganized on the basis of definite separation.

When the call came to the Up Country for enlistments, Pickens flung his influence completely into the American cause. His broad, clear vision and personal integrity carried weight in Ninety Six District; the moment he took charge, the men throughout the section hastened to join him.[2]

But his services were also to be rendered hundreds of miles away from his home. After General Charles Lee's disastrous expedition to Florida in 1776, the Continental Congress sent General Robert Howe to replace him.[3] Ambitious to accomplish what Lee had failed to do, Howe resumed the invasion of Florida. In April, 1778, the Ninety Six regiment under Colonel Williamson, with Pickens as second in command, was ordered to join Howe in Georgia.[4]

The rendezvous took place at Purrysburg on the Savannah River, and in May the regiment set out for Fort Howe on the Altamaha River. Advancing through a barren country where neither bud nor berry was seen, the horses suffered from a lack of forage, while the heat and the diet of salt meat and bad water soon began to tell upon the men. With many of them sick and unable to travel, Williamson and Pickens pitched camp near Cherokee Hill. As they waited for the men to regain their strength, they arranged a juncture with the other forces who were also on their way to Howe's base.[5]

Meanwhile, Howe, impatient at the delay of the South Carolina and Georgia militia, had crossed the Altamaha and moved toward Florida.[6] Encountering only small enemy groups, he reached Tonyn on the St. Mary's River and found that it had been evacuated and demolished.[7]

On June 24, Williamson and Pickens resumed the march. Discouraged and disheartened by the hardships they had endured, the men moved forward slowly and did not reach Howe's camp at Fort Tonyn until July 11.

Prevost, the British commander, had scarcely bothered to oppose the American advance. Leaving the "season and climate to fight for him," he continued to fall back. Not to be outdone by his tactics, Pickens with five hundred South Carolinians, and Elijah Clark with three hundred Georgians were ordered to follow the British. Separating from Clark, Pickens moved to attack Brown's battery on a nearby creek, but when he reached the spot, he found that the Tories had withdrawn. In the meantime, Clark advanced with difficulty through a tangle of bushes and logs and rode into an ambush. Before the Americans could retreat, three men were killed and nine wounded, including Clark, who was shot through the hip.[8]

Unaccustomed to the intense heat of the marshes, the insects, and inadequate food, many of the men deserted; others were so incapacitated by weakness and disease that they were unable to fight or march. As a result dissension and jealousy broke out in the command. Having already lost five hundred men and being embarrassed by the lack of cooperation, Howe called a council of war. After some discussion, it was agreed that the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, namely, driving the enemy from Georgia and destroying Fort Tonyn. Since little more could be gained by prolonging the expedition, arrangements were made to take the sick and wounded in galleys to Sunbury, while the rest of the troops were to go overland to Savannah and thence to their homes.[9]

When Pickens reached the Long Canes, he had little time for rest. The Creeks and Chickamaugas were once more active in Georgia and on the South Carolina frontier. Already a call had gone out for volunteers.[10]

On August 29, Pickens wrote Captain John Irwin to march with his company to John Cameron's place, instructing each man to take a hatchet and enough provisions for six days. He urged, "You will be at the above place of rendezvous punctually on Friday, the 4th of September . . . as the situation of the distressed people to whose assistance we are to march into Georgia, will admit no delay."[11]

For the next few months Pickens' regiment was on continual duty in Georgia, where the Tories commanded by the British General Prevost and the Indians under the influence of Cameron drove the inhabitants from their homes.[12] A company under Captain Joseph Pickens, already enlisted for three months, hastened to Georgia. Before the three months' enlistment had expired, the officers were ordered to re-enlist the men for another three months.[13]

Apprised of the apparent ascendancy of Loyalists in the South, Sir Henry Clinton determined to strengthen the British influence there by a vigorous show of force. Therefore, he dispatched two thousand troops under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell from New York to Savannah. Arriving off the coast of Georgia, Campbell sailed up the Tybee River and disembarked his troops about three miles from Savannah, the capital of Georgia, where he was joined by General Prevost, who had arrived from Florida.[14]

Meanwhile, the fifteen hundred men under Major General Howe, who had also just returned from Florida, were posted within a half mile of Savannah. Partly protected by a lagoon and the swamps of the Savannah River, Howe, believing his position impregnable, was taken by surprise and defeated by the British under Campbell.

After the American rout at Savannah, Prevost, being superior in rank, assumed command of all the royal forces in the South. As soon as this was done, he sent Campbell against Augusta. Campbell took possession of the town without striking a blow, and within a month the whole state of Georgia was restored to the authority of the British Crown.

Shortly after the British occupation of Augusta, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and two hundred cavalrymen were ordered to the interior of Georgia to crush any remaining resistance and to encourage the Loyalists to come forward and aid in completing the restoration of royal authority in the State.

At his frontier post Colonel Andrew Pickens learned of the British plans and moved quickly in an attempt to counteract the spread of British influence.[15] After notifying the recently promoted General Williamson that Colonel Boyd, the Tory commander in South Carolina, had returned from New York where he and the British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, had laid plans for a campaign in Georgia and South Carolina, Colonel Pickens and his regiment marched to meet Colonel Hamilton, who was reported to be on the Georgia side of the Savannah River.[16]

When Pickens reached the river, he was joined by Colonel Dooley and Lieutenant Colonel Clark and a hundred men from Georgia. Early the next morning, Hamilton came down the river and tried to cross, but Pickens had moved the flat boat to the Carolina side. For two days, the British and Americans maneuvered up and down the river for a distance of ten miles.[17]

On the morning of the third day Colonel Hamilton disappeared. Pickens then sent two scouts to discover the route he had taken. They returned late in the afternoon, saying the British had taken the road to a fort about ten miles inland where a number of women, children, and old men had sought refuge. Pickens immediately ordered the troops to cross the river, but since there was only one flat, it was nearly daylight before they were all across.

As the troops were state militiamen, Colonel Dooley automatically was in command as soon as they landed on Georgia soil. Pickens, no doubt realizing the confusion that would result from a change in command every time a state border was crossed and having confidence in his own leadership, called a conference. He told Dooley that he would go no further unless he continued in command. Dooley readily consented. Pickens then spoke to the troops. Being a stern man who did not quibble, he told them he intended to pursue and attack the Tories wherever he found them. If there were any who wished to return home, they might do so, but he wanted it clearly understood that those who remained were to obey his orders.

Just as dawn was breaking, Pickens moved forward. When the fort was reached, the British had just left for Kerr's Fort, twelve miles away. Ordering the men to remount, Pickens set out in pursuit. The advance troops got close enough to fire upon the rear before the enemy crowded inside the fort.

Firing from both sides commenced immediately. Several Americans were wounded before Pickens succeeded in getting sharpshooters in a house near the fort where they could fire into the stockade. At length Pickens sent in a white flag and asked Hamilton to surrender and save the shedding of blood. Hamilton refused. As soon as it was dark, Pickens planned to set fire to the stockade. Wagon wheels bound with lightwood were ready to be ignited and rolled down the hill against the gate. But just before dusk, Pickens received word that Boyd and seven hundred Tories were advancing along the South Carolina frontier and expected to reach the Savannah River during the night.

Pickens called a council of officers and informed them of the developments. It was agreed that they would recross the Savannah and try to intercept Boyd. To make sure that they would not be followed and attacked from the rear, Pickens ordered fires kindled over the top of the ridge which paralleled the fort.

The next day the militia crossed the river and advanced about twelve miles north, but they were unable to find Boyd. The following morning Pickens sent several scouts up the river. Around noon one of them returned with the information that the Tories had crossed the river on rafts above the settlement.

Meanwhile a messenger arrived with the news that the group of eighty men, under captains Anderson, Baskins, Miller, and Joseph Pickens, who had been sent out to guard the river crossing, had attacked the Tories at Cherokee Ford and had been defeated. Baskins and Miller were among the prisoners taken. When the account of this skirmish was circulated, a number of men who had not taken up arms joined Pickens.

That evening the militia went back over the Savannah River. Pickens immediately sent out scouts to find the Tories' route, but during the night they returned without having gained any satisfactory information. At daylight, Pickens sent out scouts with orders to proceed up the Broad River until they found the enemy's trail. In the meantime, he would advance up the river until he heard from them. On the evening of February 12, the scouts returned and reported they had seen the enemy rear guard crossing the Broad eight or ten miles above.

Pickens forthwith crossed to the south side of the river in an attempt to get between them and Augusta. At dusk the scouts of the two forces came within sight of each other and exchanged a few shots. That night Pickens and his men lay on their arms.

With the first streak of dawn, the militia was on the move and by sunrise they had come upon the enemy's trail. Shortly, they came to where the Tories had camped the night before. At ten o'clock, while moving cautiously forward, they heard a drum about a mile ahead. Halting, Pickens had the troops prime their guns, and told them if they had anything to eat to share it with their comrades.

Expecting to come upon the enemy on the march, Pickens ordered Colonel Dooley to take the right flank, Lieutenant Colonel Clark the left, and when contact was made, to circle the enemy and attack the rear; he would advance with the center division. A small party preceded Pickens with instructions not to fire but to let him know when they saw the enemy. The advance had not gone more than two miles when they saw the Tories resting by Kettle Creek, some of them butchering a beef. Forgetting their orders, the men fired upon them, sounding the alarm.

Being a man of courage, Boyd advanced with a party of Tories through the field to the edge of the woods where they concealed themselves behind an old fence and some fallen trees. The main body was drawn up along the edge of the cane which bordered the creek. Pickens advanced with the center to the top of the hill where Boyd and his party were waiting. Advancing in a line, the Patriots were within thirty yards of the enemy line before the Tories fired, killing or wounding several men. Immediately after firing, the Tories fled across the cleared ground to their main body. Opening fire, Pickens' men killed and wounded many of the fleeing men, Boyd being among the seriously wounded.

The action then became general, Pickens' division bore the brunt of the Tory fire. The divisions on the flanks had failed to cross the creek and attack from the rear as Pickens had ordered. "Not for want of courage," Pickens said, "but for want of experience and knowledge of the necessity of obeying orders."

Pressing through the cane, the militia carried the fight to the enemy, who retreated across the creek and reformed on a slight elevation where they fought stubbornly for a half-hour before they surrendered. The Tories lost about seventy men, wounded and dead, a number of prisoners, horses, guns, equipment, and all the prisoners they had taken. Pickens allowed a few Tory prisoners to stay behind to bury their dead with the promise that if they would report to him, he would give them permission to return to their families.[18]

Before quitting the field, Colonel Pickens, who knew Boyd personally, went to where the wounded man lay. "Boyd," he said, "I am pained to see you in such suffering and in such a cause."[19]

Rising on his arm, Boyd stopped him. "Sir, I glory in the cause. I die for my King and my country." He then took a brooch from his shirt and handed it to Pickens with the request that he give it to his wife. He also asked that two men be detailed to stay with him until he died. The request was granted. Before morning Boyd was dead.

It was dark before the Americans left the field, but they brought off all the Tory prisoners and their own wounded. The next morning they recrossed the Savannah River at Fort Charlotte.[20] The prisoners were sent under guard to Ninety Six where they were held for trial in the courts of the new government.[21]

The result of this victory, which was the only check on the British advance in Georgia, broke the spirit of the Tories and secured peace for a time in the interior of the Carolinas and Georgia.[22] Some years later Pickens himself said he believed "it was the severest check and chastisement the Tories ever received in South Carolina or Georgia."[23]

After a few days' rest, Pickens and his men, in high spirits after the battle of Kettle Creek, crossed the Savannah River into Georgia again to attack a party of British and Tories reportedly on Briar Creek, thirty-five miles southwest of Augusta. Near Wrightsborough, on the Little River, Pickens learned that there were eight hundred Creek Indians under the command of W. Tate, a British agent, encamped on the Ogeechee River, about twenty-five miles away, en route to Augusta to join Colonel Campbell.[24]

Pickens halted and sent scouts to reconnoitre. They returned the next day with the desired information. Meanwhile reinforcements, under Colonel Benjamin Few and Le-

Roy Hammond, and two bodies of horsemen under Major Ross, joined the South Carolinians. Colonel Pickens, in command of five hundred troops, gave the order to go forward. When they reached the camp at daylight, the enemy had fled. The inhabitants who were Tory sympathizers had warned them of Pickens' approach. But he lost no time in following. A number of the Indians were overtaken and slain and one of the principal chiefs was taken prisoner.[25] The others scattered and returned to their homes. It was later reported that not a man reached Colonel Campbell.[26]

The defeat of Boyd and the dispersal of the Indians with Tate disrupted the plans of the British. A short while later Campbell retreated from Augusta to the south side of Briar Creek. During this period not a gun was fired by Campbell's or General Andrew Williamson's troops who faced each other at Augusta. It was while stationed there that Pickens believed "Williamson was corrupted," as not long afterward he switched his allegiance to the British.[27]

The recent defeat of the Tories encouraged General Benjamin Lincoln,[28] who had replaced Howe, to send General John Ashe of North Carolina, with fifteen hundred men, to retake Georgia. When Campbell learned of the move, he retreated to Hudson's Ferry, twenty-four miles above General Prevost's headquarters. In an effort to cut the enemy off from the northern part of Georgia, Lincoln ordered Ashe to cross the Savannah River and take a post on Briar Creek.

From this point several days later, General Ashe assured Lincoln and Moultrie[29] that his position on Briar Creek was secure and that the enemy, believing they were outnumbered, were afraid to attack. However, on March 3, Prevost learned that Ashe had depleted his army by sending out scouting parties and retraced his route to attack Ashe from the rear. The rout was complete. Many of the troops fled into the woods without firing their guns. After a futile attempt to rally his men, Ashe escaped into the river swamp. A number of men were killed in their flight, some were drowned as they tried to swim the river, and others perished in the swamp. Only four hundred fifty of the survivors rejoined the army.[30]

Although not in the battle, Pickens was close enough to be caught in the disastrous retreat. Turning toward Carolina, he reached Matthew's Bluff on the border that evening.[31]

CHAPTER IV

Paroled by Necessity

DISPLEASED with the inactivity of Williamson, Governor Rutledge sent him into Georgia with orders to harass the enemy and destroy all cattle, horses, provisions, and carriages which should be found. General Lincoln did not approve of the order. He thought it was best to let things rest until he could march an army into the South to protect the American inhabitants. Furthermore, he believed that the execution of the order would seriously impair the understanding that he had with the militiamen whom he had permitted to go home. Aware of the complications of the order and the unpleasant situation that was arising, General William Moultrie persuaded Governor Rutledge to rescind the order.[1]

But before it had been withdrawn, Pickens had instructed Captain John Irwin, of his command, to collect one-third of his company, well-armed and on horseback, and meet him on Friday, April 16, at Cowan's Ferry. Irwin was also ordered to bring those men who had refused to accompany their lieutenant to Cowan's Ferry on March 17, in order that they might be dealt with as the law directed.[2]

Knowing that obedience to orders and a strict adherence to the law were prerequisites of being a good soldier, Pickens was determined that there would be no laxness of either in his regiment. Therefore, when he learned that some of the officers, who had been with him at Kettle Creek, had kept some of the captured horses and two guns, Pickens told Irwin to order the property to be returned immediately to him or else they would be prosecuted.

From his post on the Savannah River, Pickens and Williamson joined Lincoln, who with the approval of the Council of Safety had already arrived in Georgia, where he hoped to stop the British from receiving supplies from the back country and prevent a junction with the Indians. Meanwhile, Prevost, hearing of the American advance into Georgia, crossed the Savannah with four thousand troops and headed for Charleston. As soon as Lincoln heard of the British threat to the South Carolina capital, he abandoned his plan of saving Georgia and marched toward Charleston.[3]

The weather was hot and sultry and the news from home alarming. One by one Williamson's men deserted, until one day a whole company marched off in a body when they heard that Cameron and his deputies were "straining every nerve to make the whole Cherokee nation commence hostilities."[4] But Pickens, who felt that orders were made to be obeyed, kept his men together and continued the march toward the capital.

Reaching the vicinity of Charleston on May 14, Lincoln proceeded at once to the Stono River in order to watch the British, who, separated from the mainland by the river, were strongly entrenched on John's Island. Fully aware of the criticism and bad feeling that existed toward him for endangering the Low Country when he marched into Georgia, Lincoln was anxious to drive the enemy from the gates of the capital and regain the good will of the inhabitants. Therefore, when scouts reported that Prevost had gone to Savannah with the 6th Regiment and had taken all the boats except one flat, Lincoln hastened to Charleston to consult with the governor and the council. Plans were made to attack the British post, under Lieutenant Colonel John Maitland, at Stono Ferry.[5]

On the night of June 19, Lincoln put his five thousand men in motion. Shortly after midnight, in accordance with the plan and the promise of the full support of General Moultrie, he advanced against the enemy fortification.[6] The militia made up half of the American force. On the right were the North and South Carolina militia and on the left were the continentals, flanked by a corps of light infantry.[7]

The line formed a mile from the enemy position and moved forward slowly. On the right Pickens and his men struggled through a densely wooded area covered with small pine saplings, while the left advanced with greater ease through an open forest. About seven o'clock the enemy pickets were driven in and a short time later two companies of Highlanders, under Colonel Campbell, were encountered. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting followed until all that was left of the British companies were eleven Highlanders.

Heavy fighting continued for another hour as the Americans got to within three hundred yards of the enemy. After a severe struggle, they were repulsed with a loss of two hundred men.[8] When Lincoln saw the British at the ferry, he knew that Moultrie, who was supposed to come by boat from James Island, had failed in his part of the plan; so he ordered a retreat.[9]

The British, seeing the withdrawal of Lincoln's troops, "sallied in pursuit, but the good order in which the retreat was made, and the vigilance of the light troops commanded by Colonel Andrew Pickens rendered it fruitless."[10]

Covering the retreat of the American forces, Pickens brought off several of Lincoln's wounded officers. He escaped without injury, although he was closely pressed by the enemy and his horse was shot from under him.[11]

The rumor that had caused Williamson's men to desert continued to spread: that Cameron and his Indians were once more on the way to the back country. In the comparative safety of the coastal towns, the Low Country people did not understand the anxiety of the Up Country militiamen whose homes served as a buffer between them and the Indian nation. As the reports became more alarming, Pickens was permitted to return with his men to the Up Country to protect the frontier from an Indian invasion.[12]

Although the rumor had been regarded lightly on the coast, it was true. Three hundred Chickamauga warriors were on the way to raid the frontier settlements of North Carolina. But the Carolinians and the Virginians, having received word of the plan, struck so quickly that the Indians were taken by surprise and routed. It was later learned that the plan of Governor Hamilton of Detroit to send Northern and Southern Indians with British regulars to attack the whole frontier had been frustrated.[13]

After Pickens and his men left Lincoln, they reached the mountainous regions and were in the valley of Tamassee Creek when the Indians attacked them in an open field near a cane brake. This was the second battle of Tamassee.[14]

Outnumbered and surrounded by a band of yelling, painted warriors, Pickens got a few men into the brake where they set fire to the cane. Pickens was about to give up when the Indians mistook the explosion of the cane joints for rifle fire from reinforcements and retreated.

A monument near the site of Pickens' last home marks the battlefield:

COMMEMORATING THE RING FIGHT, THE LAST
AND MOST DESPERATE BATTLE BETWEEN
GENERAL ANDREW PICKENS AND THE
CHEROKEE INDIANS. FOUGHT IN
IMMEDIATE VICINITY

1779

ERECTED 1925

WIZARD OF TAMASSEE CHAPTER

D. A. R., SENECA, S. C.

(N. B. There has been some confusion with this battle and the other Ring Fight that took place on August 12, 1776. As the ring formation was a favorite method of attack used by the Indians, it is probable that there were two such fights where the same tactics were used and possible that they both have been called the Ring Fight.)

In the Low Country of South Carolina a brief calm followed the action at Stono Ferry. The Americans and British kept close to their camps until the arrival of the French fleet under Count D'Estaing aroused them to action. After consultations were held with the French officer, it was finally agreed that the allied forces should attack the British at Savannah. Orders were accordingly issued to the Georgia and Carolina militia to gather in that area.[15]

From the frontier of the Up Country, Pickens and Williamson with their militiamen hurried to join General Lincoln near the besieged town. But before they arrived, Count D'Estaing, with four thousand Frenchmen and twenty-five hundred troops under Lincoln, demanded Prevost's surrender. To give his reinforcements time to get there, Prevost, with less than three thousand men, asked for twenty-four hours to consider the terms. At the end of the time, he notified D'Estaing that the town would be defended "to the last extremity."[16]

Instead of attacking the next day as they should have done, D'Estaing and Lincoln spent twelve days making preparations for the attack. At midnight, October 3, they commenced bombarding the city and continued until the attack was launched.[17]

On the night of October 8, Lincoln issued the orders for battle. A traitor from the Charleston Grenadiers, however, learning of the plan, deserted and gave the information to General Prevost. Therefore, when the attack was launched, the British were ready.[18]

General Williamson's brigade, which included Pickens and his men, was under the command of General Isaac Huger who was ordered to march to the left of the enemy's line and get as close to it as possible without being discovered. The brigade was to remain there until four o'clock in the morning, then the troops in the trenches would launch the initial attack, and Huger would strike near the river. The attack, however, was delayed until daylight, and Pickens and his men, who were with Huger, found themselves forced to wade through a rice field in order to reach their objective. Each militiaman wore a piece of white paper on his hat for identification. As they emerged from the field, the Americans were greeted with a burst of music and a round of artillery fire from the waiting British. Sustaining a loss of twenty-eight men, Huger ordered a retreat and took no further part in the action.[19]

Lincoln's and D'Estaing's columns of forty-one hundred men approached the Spring Hill redoubt where the main battle was fought. Caught in a crossfire from the galleys on the river and the batteries, whole ranks were mowed down. Despite the carnage, the troops rallied and the ranks were quickly reformed as the Americans and French advanced to the redoubt. After a desperate hour-long fight, a general retreat was ordered.[20]

On October 19, Lincoln pulled his troops back to Ebenezer Heights and thence to Charleston. D'Estaing re-embarked his troops and sailed away, leaving the Georgians and Carolinians in a worse condition than before he arrived.[21]

Although Savannah was still in the possession of the enemy, the arrival of the French served awhile to confine the British to that part of Georgia and prevent them from overrunning the back settlements of South Carolina.[22]

Pickens remained in southern Georgia, where he and Colonel John Twiggs continued to harass the British at Savannah.[23]

The American failure at Savannah prepared the way for the fall of Charleston. The Patriots of South Carolina were hemmed in on three sides by uncompromising enemies, the Loyalists of North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and the Indians, who were always ready for war. Slowly the net tightened around Lincoln and the American army at Charleston. On February 11, 1780, when the British army under Sir Henry Clinton landed on John's Island, thirty miles below Charleston, the South Carolina assembly empowered Governor Rutledge to maintain the government and carry on the war. Rutledge issued a call for the militia and all other inhabitants to repair to the standard and join the garrison immediately or face confiscation of their property.[24]

In his camp at Augusta, General Williamson did not answer the call. Instead he sent Pickens, who was on duty at Beech Island, into Georgia to assist Colonel Twiggs' raid on the British at Savannah[25] and to protect the frontiers against the inroads of the Indians and Tories under the notorious Daniel McGirth.[26]

Learning that McGirth was laying waste American property along the Ogeechee River, Pickens and Twiggs proceeded there immediately. Several skirmishes were fought with McGirth's men. After their dispersal, a party of British troops crossed the river and fired on the Americans, but following an exchange of shots, the British recrossed the river. Pickens and Twiggs recaptured a number of slaves from a plantation on the south side of the Ogeechee.[27]

Returning to their headquarters on Royalist Governor Sir James Wright's plantation, Pickens and Twiggs reported to the Patriot Governor Hawley at Heard's Fort, in Wilkes County,[28] who ordered the officers to sell "for the benefit of the captors" all the Negroes who had been taken below the boundary line and who belonged to the enemies of the United States.[29]

From Wright's plantation, Pickens and Twiggs continued to make incursions into lower Georgia. Embarrassed by the forays, Governor Wright sent Captain Conklin, with sixty-six men against Pickens and Twiggs. He reached the Ogeechee River at ten o'clock in the morning on April 4, and found that the Americans were on the opposite bank. Crossing the river, Conklin sent Ensign Supple with fifteen men to turn the enemy's right flank.

Pickens and Twiggs saw the British as they crossed the Ogeechee. Anxious to encourage their advance, they had Captain Inman, who had recently joined them, show himself with twenty dragoons while the main body of troops was concealed at a strategic point ready for action. As the British advanced along the causeway, Inman opened fire too soon, throwing the reserves into action. Conklin was killed, but Lieutenant Roney, second in command, ordered a bayonet charge and succeeded in holding the Americans at bay.[30]

Meanwhile, Ensign Supple, who was closely pressed by Inman's dragoons, withdrew his detachment into a rice field where further pursuit was impractical and where he was able to cover the British retreat. If Inman had obeyed orders and drawn the British away from the causeway, Pickens and Twiggs, attacking from the rear, would have cut off his line of retreat and captured the entire force.

When the British escaped to Savannah, Pickens and Twiggs ordered Governor Wright's barn containing three hundred and fifty barrels of rice burned to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. They broke camp at the plantation, but remained in the neighborhood to protect the inhabitants who were moving to safer localities. Many innocent people suffered in the merciless war between the Revolutionists and the Georgia Royalists. Inflamed with hatred and eager for rapine, the latter spared neither age nor sex. Women and children were scalped, and on several occasions boys were "obliged to dance naked between two fires until scorched to death."[31] The Americans retaliated with deeds which could scarcely be excused. In addition to these dangers, many refugees contracted smallpox. Pickens and Twiggs tried to hold back the enemy and at the same time alleviate the suffering of the families who were fleeing to safer regions.[32]

Wearily Pickens made his way toward Ninety Six, only to learn on his arrival that he had been ordered to prepare immediately for another trip toward Savannah. Meanwhile, the news from Charleston grew worse. It was hoped that Pickens could divert a part of the British troops away from the Charleston theater to the Georgia seaport. But before the expedition got under way, Williamson, at his camp near

Augusta, received word that Charleston had fallen on May 11.[33]

Williamson failed to notify Pickens and the other militia officers of the capture of Charleston, but summoned most of them to meet him in Augusta. Captain Samuel Hammond, Governor Hawley of Georgia with his Secretary of State and council, colonels Clark, Clary, Dooley, and other officers of Georgia along with a number of field officers were present. But Pickens was miles away. Having withheld the information of the fall of Charleston until then, Williamson proceeded to present the articles of capitulation to the men. Lincoln had not only surrendered the forces in the capital but all the troops and people within the state as well. The articles, however, pledged that the royal government would protect the people as long as they remained peaceful.[34]

In presenting the articles to the officers, Williamson "was circumspect, but his bias was obvious enough. He discouraged many—all in fact—and the result of his proceedings was to disband his militia, while he retired to his own residence."[35]

For some time rumors had been current in the Up Country that the French, English, and all the other colonies were "united in a compact to betray the Carolina and Georgia patriots," and that they were to be abandoned by Congress. In the past the southerners had seen their men and money "frittered away" in dank swamps; the selfishness and inefficiency of Charles Lee and Robert Howe; the fickleness of D'Estaing; and at last, the surrender of Lincoln. Knowing that they could expect no help from the middle and eastern colonies, the people of Ninety Six refused to go on with the struggle. Outnumbered three to one at home by the Tories, there was no use to resist further. After some discussion, it was agreed that a flag should be sent to Richard Pearis, who had become the British representative in that section, to notify him of their decision to surrender.[36]

In the meantime Pickens, who had started on his march toward Savannah, had been halted three miles below Ninety Six by a messenger from Williamson, who was on his way from Augusta to notify Pickens of the capitulation. He arrived at the place where Pickens waited, and the two men withdrew to discuss the situation. Pickens returned to his company and ordered his men to mount and draw up in a square. Williamson addressed them and outlined the terms of capitulation. When he finished, he called for a show of hands of those who would not accept the terms. Captains McCall and McLidle and four privates raised their hands. The others felt that further resistance was useless.

Seated upon his horse, Andrew Pickens took no part in the proceedings. Since the authorities of the State had made surrender honorable and parole possible, he felt that each man should be allowed to make his own decision. When the meeting broke up, Pickens, instead of returning with Williamson to Ninety Six, rode back through the Dutch Fork and stationed a detachment at the blockhouse to guard the public arms.[37]

Then, accompanied by Major Andrew Hamilton, he set off to find Colonel Few who was somewhere in the district with a party of Whigs. Uncertain of the location of Few's camp, they asked a woman of his whereabouts and were directed to a Tory camp where they were made prisoners, later to be sent to the jail at Ninety Six.

Under parole, they were not subject to imprisonment, but neither Pickens nor Hamilton had signed the terms when Williamson presented the articles to them. There were no captives of similar rank for exchange, and they looked forward to a long confinement. Finally, however, after a month in prison, because of the influence and popularity of Pickens, they were released after they had signed a parole.

Upon his release Pickens returned to his farm. In her husband's absence, Becky had managed the farm as best she could; but the lot of a pioneer wife of a fighting man was not ever easy. Crops had to be planted and cattle attended to if the family were to be fed and clothed. She left baby Andrew[38] and the smaller children in the care of Mary, her oldest daughter, and their nurse Fillis, while she and the twelve-year-old Ezekiel arose early to get the slaves off to the fields.

On the frontier where stores were few, the standard of living depended upon what the family produced. Vegetables and fruits had to be dried, canned, and preserved for winter; poultry and meat, corn and wheat, and cotton for clothes were all homegrown and processed. From early morning until the sun sank behind the tall forest trees, Becky, with her long black hair bound in gleaming braids about her shapely head, rode her favorite saddle horse among the slaves as they planted and worked the crops. Beside her, Ezekiel, listening to his mother's orders, soon began to take on some of the responsibilities. But when Andrew came home on parole, Becky was glad to turn the management back to him and once more devote her time to her family.

Freed from military duty, Pickens took up the work Becky had started, devoting much of his time to the breeding of saddle horses. Early in the development of the province, South Carolina had started importing thoroughbreds from England and by 1770 blooded stallions were in reach of all who wished them.[39] Pickens bred local mares to the thoroughbreds and produced a cross-breed noted for its speed and endurance. Others had done likewise; as a result when the Revolutionary War began, there were more well-mounted men in South Carolina than in any of the other colonies.

During the hot summer days that followed his return, Pickens and his wife lived in a small world of their own, surrounded by their family and slaves and disturbed only by the disquieting reports from the outside. At times the tranquility of their day was broken. One of their Tory neighbors was an outspoken man of middle age. Having stood somewhat in awe of the partisan colonel before the capitulation, he had kept his distance, but with Pickens on parole, he hurried to the blockhouse and gleefully announced each British victory.

After several such visitations, Pickens became impatient. One morning the Tory entered Pickens' stockade. Andrew, seated on a bench beneath a large oak tree, was polishing a brace of silver-handled pistols, while the children played about him. Nodding curtly, he went on with his work as he motioned to Dick to bring a stool for the visitor. Grudgingly, the slave placed a stool in front of him, but the Tory, teetering back and forth, stood watching his host.

For awhile neither spoke, then the visitor's voice rose gloatingly, "It ain't no use for the rebels to keep on fighting the King. . . . If they don't stop, they air all gwine to be kilt."[40]

Without saying a word, Pickens rose from his seat and, taking the man by the arm, escorted him to the gate. Stepping back he gave the Tory a resounding kick. Shocked at the usually patient colonel's outburst, the startled Tory ran down the hill and across the creek without looking back.

Pickens' reaction was not unique. At other places in South Carolina the Tories were showing their intentions. When Williamson disbanded his force, Augusta fell into the hands of colonels Thomas Brown and Grierson, two of the most notorious Tory leaders in the country. Immediately after occupying the town, Brown had sent messengers into the country to offer protection and to administer the oath of allegiance to the British crown. The patriots signed the pact, but it was not long before they learned that the promises were meaningless.[41]

In Charleston the victorious commander, Sir Henry Clinton, departed for New York, leaving General Charles Lord Cornwallis in command of the British troops in South Carolina. He began to exert his authority by punishing the rebels who had been paroled as well as those who still openly defied the Crown.[42] Thus at his instigation, red coats and Tories fanned out over South Carolina, burning, pillaging, and killing as they went.[43]

In due time, the alarming news reached Pickens in the Long Canes. Tarleton and his gang of drunken American Tories had fallen upon Buford's men and butchered them near the Waxhaws; and from Georgia word was received that Pickens' old friend, Colonel John Dooley, had been brutally murdered in the presence of his wife and children.

Indignation, like mushrooms, sprang up over night. Prostrate as South Carolina was, there were some men who had not given up their arms; and, learning that the British had disregarded the terms of surrender, others were taking up arms again.[44] In fact, Ninety Six under Lieutenant Colonel J. Harris Cruger, was the only outpost that had not been assailed by Patriot parties. Cruger, with the help of Captain Ker, had governed the district wisely and had been able to keep the people quiet in that section. No doubt Colonel Pickens, who strictly observed his parole and became an example to others of his countrymen, was influenced by Cruger's regime.[45]

Shortly after the fall of Camden in August, South Carolina, like Georgia, seemed doomed as the new order issued by Cornwallis to the British soldiers swept through the State. He wrote: "I have given orders that all inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and have taken part in the revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour; and also those, who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have likewise ordered that compensation should be made out of their estates to the persons who have been injured or oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner that every militiaman, who has borne arms with us and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire that you will take the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter relative to the inhabitants of this country."[46]

Shortly afterward in Augusta, men were taken from the jail and hanged without trial, and throughout South Carolina atrocities increased. Although the Ninety Six region was strongly Tory, the Whigs who had surrendered had not felt the effects of Cornwallis' proclamation. At other places in South Carolina sporadic skirmishes took place and Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion harassed the enemy at every opportunity. The battle of King's Mountain brought victory to the Americans in October, but served likewise to attract attention from the enemy leaders. As patriot resistance sprang up elsewhere, Clark and McCall returned to the Long Canes section, seeking recruits.

During the gloomy days that followed, continuous rumors of cruelties reached Pickens as he went about his peaceful farming. McCall arrived one night and urged Pickens to reenter the American service. But deeply troubled as he was, Pickens told him that as far as he was concerned, the British had not violated his parole, and until they broke the terms, he was bound by his conscience and honor to uphold his oath.

Disappointed, McCall returned to his men and reported that Pickens would not break his parole; other patriots repeatedly begged him to join them, but his answer was always the same. "My honor is pledged. I am bound by the solemnity of an oath not to take up arms again, unless the conditions of protection are violated by the British themselves, or by someone acting under Royal authority."

Discouraged but still determined, the Patriots decided that if they captured Williamson and Pickens, it would be a violation of the oath on the part of the British for their failure to protect them from capture. Hammond and McCall were accordingly sent to bring them by force if necessary. The humor of the situation evidently appealed to both men and they accompanied their captors without resistance. Pickens declared that he came involuntarily.[47]

In their hide-out, surrounded by his old comrades, Pickens was urged to take up his sword again and become their leader. He listened quietly until the last man had spoken, then he stood before them. As he spoke the sparkle of humor died from his eyes and from those of his listeners.

Schooled in the stern faith of his parents, he told the men that he had been taught early in life that an oath was inviolable until broken by the other party. Fidelity to one's word was a higher law than that of any political body, even though that body might be one's own nation. He knew the need of his country; he knew the desire in the hearts of his friends who had "captured" him. Yet justice and honor to him were community virtues—and no country could have honor unless its citizens had both truth and honor. As he talked in quietly measured tones, his words struck the men with a new meaning. When he had finished, he repeated, "Not until the oath is violated may I join you. . . ." Then turning, he mounted his horse and rode back along the path that led from the forest rendezvous.

Tory and British soldiers were sweeping through the country, "burning houses and churches, carrying away the Negro servants, throwing Bibles and Psalm books into the flames . . . shooting down sheep and cattle," and putting innocent settlers to death.[48]

Everywhere Patriots, riding the forest paths by night, were banding together. Though they had failed to agree among themselves in the past, Cornwallis had united them by plundering their property. At last the whole frontier of South Carolina was ablaze.[49]

One day while Pickens was away from home, James Dunlap and his gang swept down on his plantation, burning and destroying his buildings and crops. Pickens returned, saw the havoc left by the Tories, and listened to the insults that had been heaped upon his wife and children. He mounted his horse and rode swiftly to the British post at White Hall where he told Ker, the commander, about the raid and his intentions to take up arms again.

"I have honorably and conscientiously adhered to the rules laid down in the protection I took," Pickens said, "but now I consider myself completely absolved from its obligation by the plunder and wanton waste which has been committed on my farm and the insults and indignities that have been offered to my family."[50]

Although enemies, the two men had grown to respect each other. Knowing that Pickens would be executed if captured, Ker urged him to change his mind, warning him that he would be fighting with a rope around his neck. But Pickens was as determined to fight again as he had been to maintain his parole. When the British officer saw that it was useless to try to prevent him, he told Pickens that though their countries were at war, he hoped that it would never be his misfortune to fall into the hands of the British government.

Thus the two men parted. Pickens rode quickly away from the enemy camp and the British captain, admiring his courage, made no attempt to stop him. At last Pickens was free to take the field again where he would bring "to the cause of liberty the great weight of his high character."[51]

CHAPTER V

The Battle of Cowpens

WORD that Andrew Pickens had taken up arms again quickly spread throughout the neighborhood and soon reached the Georgia troops, who were encamped near the Long Canes settlement. Immediately a council of officers was called, and Colonel McCall was dispatched to ask Pickens to join them.[1]

McCall arrived at the blockhouse shortly after Pickens' return from the British post and found Becky in a state of turmoil as she tried to hurry her husband away before the Tories arrived. But Pickens was going calmly about giving orders to Dick to report to him any British activities around the blockhouse. He called a servant to take McCall's horse behind the palisade where his was tied, and he explained his plans to his wife while Dick and Fillis packed his saddlebags. In due time, he and McCall rode away through the fields and woodlands. Dick accompanied them.

At the camp, his friends received Pickens with enthusiasm and requested that he serve as their leader.[2] Since Williamson, who had been held for a time by the troops, had escaped to Charleston, Pickens had become the senior officer of the Ninety Six militia.

Pickens' return to arms was "a great accession to the patriot cause."[3] Although younger and less experienced than Marion and Sumter,[4] he had already "exhibited enterprise and ability, qualities that he would demonstrate still further as he rendered military service of a high order. But it was the weight of his high personal character which now brought so much influence to the cause of the country. His extreme conscientiousness in regard to the observations of his parole now rendered his conduct all the more important to the cause of liberty."[5]

Fully aware of Captain Ker's warning, Pickens and many of his followers resumed the fight knowing very well that there would be no quarter for them if they were captured. From his secret hide-away, Pickens steadily and determinedly collected recruits and sent couriers to General Nathanael Greene, the American commander, offering his full cooperation with the army, which had been sent from the North into South Carolina.[6]

It was a few days before Christmas in 1761 when he stopped by the blockhouse to bid his family goodbye. He had received orders to join Brigadier General Daniel Morgan of Virginia, who, attached to Greene's command, was marching south across the upper Catawba and Broad rivers.[7]

With his three-cornered hat on his head, his hair tied smoothly back in a queue, heavy silver spurs on his feet, and two large pistols in holsters, Pickens rode through the stockade gate and down the narrow path. He had not gone far when McCall and his men met him, and soon other volunteers waiting in the winter woods for his approach joined their band.[7]

Clad in deerskin trousers and rough woolen shirts woven by their wives and daughters, raccoon skin caps on their heads, and leather homemade moccasins upon their feet, the men mounted their horses and followed their intrepid leader. Each wore a piece of white paper or a green twig on his cap in lieu of a uniform. Some of them carried reaping hooks and scythes instead of swords, while others had pitchforks in place of guns. Across their shoulders dangled powder horns and in each man's belt was a large hunting knife. Their flintlock rifles, with long heavy barrels mounted on black stocks were unwieldy; but with them the marksmen could send a bullet two hundred yards into an object no bigger than a man's hand. Thus armed, they set forth to fight again—"partisan soldiers who came and went, and fought as the occasion demanded, without the prospect or hope of pay or reward."[8]

The last of December, Pickens and his men arrived at the camp at Grindal Shoals on the Pacolet River where Morgan, fearful that he was too weak to fight, was preparing to retreat. On December 31, still contemplating a withdrawal, he wrote General Greene that he had consulted Pickens and Davidson, of North Carolina, whom he had turned to as chief counselors. "They tell me," he said, "it [the retreat] can easily be effected by passing up the Savannah and crossing over the heads of the rivers along the Indian line."[9]

Then, on January 15, 1781, Morgan requested that Greene recall him and his detachment. He wrote that General Davidson and Colonel Pickens, whom he considered a "valuable, discreet, and attentive officer" having the confidence of the militia, might be left with the Carolina and Georgia troops. "Besides," he added, "they will not be so much the object of the enemy's attention, and will be capable of being a check on the disaffected," which was all he could expect.

Four days later Morgan received an answering letter, in which Greene warned him to keep clear of misfortune.[10] But meanwhile, the Battle of Cowpens had been fought.

General Davidson and Colonel Pickens did not share his misgivings, but recognizing Morgan's peril, they eagerly set to work to build up the militia. From his camp at Plumber Settlement, Pickens sent couriers out over the country to gather recruits; nor did he spare himself in his efforts to enlist volunteers for the militia. In response to his call, they came on horseback and on foot, each bearing the rifle he used for hunting game and Indians. Many had been indifferent as long as the Low Country had had to contend with the British, but when the Up Country was threatened, they shouldered their arms and came out to battle their common enemy under the leadership of Pickens, their own countryman.[11]

On January 12, to his camp on the Fairforest River Pickens' spies brought word that Tarleton, the British leader, had crossed the Broad River and was moving up its western bank in search of Morgan.[12] Pickens immediately sent word to Morgan telling him of the situation.[13]

When he received the message, he ordered Colonel William Washington to meet him at Gentleman Thompson's (now Thicketty Station) the following evening. There they made camp for the night and in the morning, continued to retreat till Tory Saunders' cowpens were reached later in the day.[14]

Detachments continued to come into Cowpens, as the name of the locality came to be known. However, Colonel Pickens, pressing through the hills in an attempt to join Morgan, did not reach him until after dark. Immediately upon his arrival a council of war was called and he learned that further retreat was contemplated. But Pickens urged that a stand be made before crossing the North Carolina border. A reticent man, he rarely indulged in idle conversation, but when the occasion required an opinion he gave it unhesitatingly and unmistakably. He was convinced the time had come to fight and he resolutely presented his reasons.

War to Pickens was a melancholy duty but one that must be met unflinchingly.[15] He knew the men who had rallied under his command. They were fighting for their homes, and many like him, were fighting for their very lives. He reasoned that "men who knowingly faced such consequences and so dared to die were not easily conquered."[16]

But Pickens' audience was not impressed. Realizing that he was not convincing them, suddenly he bluntly declared that he would fight alone with his command if necessary.[17] Morgan suggested they cross the river for greater safety but Pickens protested, saying his men would think it was another retreat and would become discouraged and want to go home. Finally, the decision was made to make a stand and the Battle of Cowpens was planned.[18]

This being done, Morgan and Pickens went out among the men with words of encouragement. Morgan attempted to banter, but Pickens, in a more serious vein, told his men that they were going into battle the next day. "Do not shoot," he told them, "until the enemy is within thirty paces; then aim low and fire in relays, picking off the officers first; every third man fire, while the others hold their fire in reserve." And when retreat was sounded, they were to fall back behind the line of Maryland-Virginia troops.[19]

The army baggage was dispatched a few miles to the rear, and the horses of the militia were tied to trees behind the reserves. The troops were ordered to rest in their places for the remainder of the night.[20]

Far down the road Pickens' scouts watched Tarleton's movements. Just before daylight they sent word that the British had crossed the Pacolet River and were moving on toward Cowpens. In his haste to overtake the Americans, Tarleton had marched his troops for five hours without rest or refreshment, hoping to attack in the confusion of flight. On the other hand the Americans, having rested and breakfasted, were at their posts waiting for him on a battlefield of their own choosing.[21]

The site sloped from the river for three hundred fifty yards and was covered with open woods.[22] On the top of the ridge were posted what Morgan considered his best troops, companies from Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia. There were four hundred thirty men in the second line under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Howard of Maryland.[23]

Posted in open order down the slope, a hundred fifty yards ahead of the second line, was the main militia body, the two hundred seventy men commanded by Colonel Pickens. Some hundred fifty yards farther were a hundred fifty picked men under the command of Major Cunningham of Georgia and Major McDowell of North Carolina. The cavalry reserves under Washington and McCall were hidden behind the ridge in the rear of the second line. Thus deployed, the Americans awaited the arrival of the enemy.

Soon they heard the rumble of the approaching army and the sound of gunfire from the advance guard. Then through the early morning haze the British appeared and formed one line four hundred yards in front of the advanced American troops. Ready for battle, eleven hundred fifty British faced nine hundred forty Americans.[24]

Short of stature, but strong and heavily built, Tarleton rode down the line, giving last-minute instructions. The first battalion of the 71st Regulars was to oppose the American right while the 7th opposed the left, the Legion of Infantry faced the center, and two companies of the light troops, of a hundred men each, were on the American flanks. Moving two fieldpieces to the front, the British opened fire. Through the smoke of the cannon, a column of British advanced, led by an officer on horseback. Quickly one of the American sharpshooters picked him off. The other riflemen delivered a heavy fire and fell back, according to plan, behind Pickens' militia.[25]

Remembering the burned homes and hardships suffered at the hands of the advancing men, Pickens waited until Tarleton's men were within fifty yards of his line before he gave the command to fire. Rifles of the Up Country men roared out in one great blast. "Again and again the rifles spoke, and down fell the officers who were leading the attack."

Under the calm and able direction of Pickens, the militia maintained their line and received the enemy's salvos with a firmness that amazed the British. Continuing to shoot as ordered, they delivered their deadly fire; and according to a later statement of a Maryland officer who was on the field, it was there that "the battle was gained."[26] The dead and wounded of the British commissioned and non-commissioned officers who lay at that spot in proportion to the casualties in the other areas of the field justified the statement.

Although suffering severely, the British continued to advance, charging with their bayonets. At this point, Pickens ordered the militiamen to withdraw to the post previously assigned, to the left of the Continental troops, and they fell back according to plan.[27] Seeing this movement, the enemy quickened their advance, rending the air with shouts.

Tarleton's cavalry took advantage of what he thought was a retreat and fell upon the militia with fixed bayonets. There was bitter hand-to-hand fighting between the Patriots on the ground and the mounted British. But Pickens, with part of his corps, reached the position on Howard's left. However, the weight of the enemy had been too much for the main body of the troops, and while Pickens was trying eloquently to bring the men to order, some exposed ranks broke.

Colonel Washington saw that the militia was in trouble and dashed in to turn back the enemy. This enabled Pickens to check the flight and to rally his men. In short order, with his face blazing and eyes flashing, Pickens reorganized the troops on the ridge which had served as a screen for reserves.

Howard's men, apparently having misunderstood orders, when they saw Pickens' militia falling back, attempted to drop back and form a junction. As a result an almost disastrous retreat began. Howard thought Morgan had issued the order; while Morgan, thinking that it had been given by Howard, rode along the rear of the line and ordered the men to face about as soon as they had reached their objective. At that moment, a courier arrived from Colonel Washington, who, having pursued the enemy cavalry some distance in advance of the American line, reported the right flank of the British exposed and in confusion due to lack of officers—Pickens' guns had hit their mark.[28]

In the meantime, Pickens had reformed his broken line and led his men around the hill to the left of Tarleton where the British, extending beyond the American right, threatened to flank the Maryland-Virginia line. The militia poured a steady fire into the enemy ranks and checked their advance. The gallantry and skill with which Pickens rallied the militia for the second attack "excited the astonishment of the enemy and secured the victory."[29]

The memory of "Bloody Tarleton's" brutality was fresh in their minds, and the cry of "Tarleton's quarter" rang out all along the American line. It was quickly countermanded, however, by Colonel Pickens and Howard's order, "Give them quarter!"[30]

Vainly Tarleton shouted for his men to charge the Americans. But the deadly aim of Pickens' riflemen had so demoralized the British, who were accustomed to sabering defeated troops and feared the same treatment, that they paid no attention. Instead, those who had not already surrendered, fled the field, and he was forced to retire with them.

Meanwhile the 71st British regiment, under the command of Major McArthur, attempted to maintain order. But when Tarleton and the cavalry fled, McArthur saw that further resistance was useless. He laid down his arms, and surrendered to Colonel Pickens.[31]

Some years later Pickens wrote, "That part of the 71st, which was there, surrendered to me, and I believe every officer of that regiment delivered his sword into my hand. . . . Major McArthur surrendered to me some distance from the battle ground and delivered his sword to me. [James] Jackson acted with me at that time as Brigade Major. I sent word back to General Morgan by Major Jackson, and Major McArthur with the sword."[32] After completing the mission, Pickens ordered Jackson "to return as quickly as possible with as many of the mounted militia as he could get" to join him and Washington in the pursuit of the enemy.

Thus the battle that had started at eight in the morning was over by noon, a complete victory for the American cause —"800 British soldiers were lost. Tarleton's bloody work was brought to a sudden end, and a staggering blow was given to Cornwallis himself. One-third of his army was snatched from him by the victory at Cowpens. And the Carolina riflemen, led by Pickens, had played the chief part in winning that glorious field."[33]

Meanwhile, on another part of the field a different scene was being enacted. Dick, Pickens' servant, who had stayed in the rear during the fight, was walking about after the battle looking over the carnage when he came upon a badly wounded young British officer. Noticing his "elegant dress" and especially his "fine fair top boots," Dick was in the act of removing them when the young officer opened his eyes.

"Surely, my boy," the officer said, "you will not take them before I die."

Dick, who had followed Pickens through the Indian wars as well as the British conflicts, remembered the poorly clad militia and his own master's ill-shod feet. Nodding his head slowly, he said, "Look mighty nice . . . Massa need 'em bad."

After a moment, the soldier said, "I'm thirsty. . . . Bring me a little water before I die, then take the boots. . . ."

Hastening to a nearby stream, Dick filled his hat with water. Then kneeling beside the dying man, he held the hat to his lips. When he had finished drinking, Dick removed the boots and took them to Pickens' headquarters.[34]

Pickens and Washington had set out after Tarleton as he retreated. They took some prisoners and chased him twenty-two miles, but were unable to bring him to action. Abandoning the pursuit, they returned to the battleground early the next morning and found that Morgan, hearing Cornwallis was nearby, had crossed the Broad River the evening before. He had left word for Pickens to bury the dead and provide for the wounded. When the orders were executed, Pickens left the wounded under a guard and set out to join Morgan. During the night, he overtook him at Gilbert Town.[35]

In the morning, Morgan was in the vicinity and had divided his forces, still fearing Cornwallis. He ordered Pickens to take charge of the prisoners and set out over the upper route, while he, with Colonel Howard's infantry and Colonel Washington's cavalry, took a lower route hoping to draw Lord Cornwallis after him.

Throughout most of the trip, the rain beat down on the half-clothed men, who, scarcely pausing for rest, trudged on through knee-deep mud. Yet, in spite of the hardships, their spirits were high. They had battled the British and defeated them. They had had twelve men killed while the British had a hundred dead and two hundred wounded.[36] Also, there were scores of prisoners attached to their ragged line.

The news of the victory at Cowpens spread throughout the state, bringing joy and hope to the discouraged people of the country. When the news reached Governor Rutledge at Cheraw on January 25, he immediately issued a brigadier general's commission to Pickens, enclosing it in the following letter to Morgan:

> Dear Sir: I request that you will be pleased to accept my warmest and most cordial thanks, and that you will present them to the brave Officers and Men under your command for the good conduct and intrepidity manifested in the Action with Lieu.-Col. Tarlton on the 17th instant. The total defeat of chosen Veteran British Troops by a number far inferior to theirs will forever distinguish the gallant men by whom the Glorious Victory was obtained, and endear them to their country. I reflect on it with the greatest pleasure as a presage of the happiest consequences. It will excite many to emulate their patriotism, and by the undaunted Courage and perseverance of Freemen who are determined to maintain the Independence of America, that must (with the Blessing of God on our Arms) be firmly established. Col. Pickens's behavior justifies the opinion I have always had of that excellent Officer. Enclosed is a Brigadier's Commission, of which I desire his acceptance.[37]

Governor Rutledge's order to Colonel Harden for the disposition of the State troops was issued at the same time. In this, the governor said, "The Regiments are in General Pickens's Brigade. The officers commanding these Regiments are therefore to obey his Orders as their Brigadier General."

On March 9, 1781, Congress passed a resolution complimenting the American officers who had participated in the Battle of Cowpens. A new sword with a silver hilt was ordered to be made in France and presented to General Pickens in commemoration of his distinguished service.[38]

The sword arrived in 1786. It had been made by the armorers of Louis XVI. The triangular blade was decorated in gold and silver gilt, inlaid with intricate designs and it bore the inscription, *Congress to Colonel Pickens, March 9, 1781.* The letter accompanying the sword was from the Secretary of War, Henry Knox, and was as follows:

> War Office of the U. S.
>
> May 27, 1786
>
> Sir:
>
> The United States in Congress assembled were pleased by their resolves of the 9th of March, 1781 to direct that a

sword should be presented to you as testimony of your spirited action at the Cowpens.

I have the honor, sir, to transmit this invaluable memorial of your merit and of the approbation of the sovereign authority of the United States.

This sword, while it perpetuates your fame, will operate as a principle to advance the true interest of your country. The glory of the reward will induce others to emulate your bravery and patriotism.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With greatest respect,
Yours most humble servant,
Henry Knox

CHAPTER VI

Invasion of North Carolina

ON January 19, three days after the Battle of Cowpens, General Cornwallis left his headquarters at Winnsboro to advance to the support of Tarleton. Arriving at Turkey Creek, within twenty-five miles of Cowpens, he immediately made plans to pursue the victorious Morgan. In the meantime, fearing such a move, Morgan had dispatched Colonel Samuel Hammond to reconnoitre and report the movements of Cornwallis.[1] Shortly after January 20, Hammond sent the following report into headquarters:

> To General Morgan or in his absence to Colonel Pickens.
>
> Dear General: The moment I received your order of 17th inst., I proceeded down Broad River with 12 men, the best mounted belonging to my command, those best acquainted with the country. I crossed the river at a byford, 16 to 18 miles below the Cowpens, and a little before day fell upon the road leading to Gilbert's Town. Thus far I had heard nothing to be depended on, and pursued my route to the fork leading to Ramson's [Ramsour's] Mills.[2] A short distance below that point I discovered on the 20th, the British army in motion. I turned off to the highlands, north of the road, and soon saw, as I believe, the whole army in march. I could not discover them well enough to form any judgment of their number, but will watch them until I find which road they take, and then endeavor to find you. . . .[3]

Sparing no effort to escape his pursuers, Morgan pushed his army forward as rapidly as possible but, hampered by the wounded and captured baggage, his progress was slow. However, relying on Hammond to keep him informed of the whereabouts of the enemy, he continued his retreat toward North Carolina.

The following day, Pickens received a second report from Hammond:

> The enemy reached Ramson's Mills last evening. I looked into their camp, from the heights, until near midnight.

> There appeared to be more than ordinary bustle amongst them, but I could not discover the cause. Their fires were rather confusing and irregular, so much so that I could make no calculation of their numbers. I caught a man this afternoon with a protection in his possession. He was much embarrassed, and said he could not judge their numbers, but that they were preparing to destroy their heavy baggage. That the friends to the king were much dismayed by the circumstance, as it looked like retreating and leaving them in the lurch again. I was glad that it had made that impression, as it will tend to keep them inactive; but you will judge with me that it is to enable them to hasten their march in pursuit of Morgan.

Pickens then forwarded the information by one of his own men to Morgan, who was hurrying toward the Catawba River.

When Cornwallis stopped to destroy his baggage he lost the opportunity of intercepting Morgan and the American troops under him. Fortunately for them, the destruction of the baggage and preparations for the pursuit took two days, thereby giving Morgan time to cross the river at McGowan's Ford, thirty miles beyond the South Carolina border. Two hours after the rear guard of the American army had crossed the river, the British came up in hot pursuit. But since dark had fallen, Cornwallis, confident that he could overtake the Americans, postponed crossing the river until morning. During the night the rains came and by morning the river was a raging torrent. For two days it remained at flood stage, holding the British at bay.[4]

Safe on the other side of the river, the Americans exulted in the belief that a miracle saved them. Continuing to Sherrard's Ferry, they were joined by General Greene, who when he heard of the victory at Cowpens set out with a small guard for Salisbury, the place of rendezvous for the American forces, leaving General Isaac Huger to follow with the army. Again abandoned by the Continental army, South Carolina was left to contend as best she could with the British forces that remained within her borders.[5]

Meanwhile, Pickens, who had taken the upper route with the prisoners after a fatiguing march of four days, arrived at Sherrard's Ford.[6] Fortunately for him, the British were still detained by the flooded Catawba. Therefore, he encountered no difficulties when he transferred the 600 prisoners of war to Major Hyrne at Island Ford, on the north side of the Yadkin River. Relieved of his charge, General Pickens hurried toward Salisbury to join Morgan.[7]

In the meantime, the Catawba River had been falling. On February 1, Hammond reported to General Greene that he believed Cornwallis would attempt to cross the river at McGowan's Ford that evening or early the next morning.[8] Not wanting to engage in an all-out battle, Greene posted militiamen at the various fords to retard the crossing, while General William L. Davidson and three hundred riflemen were on the banks of the stream to harass the enemy if they attempted to cross at another place.[9]

Cornwallis moved during the night. Hoping to deceive the Americans, he ordered colonels Webster and Tarleton to cross in the open at Beattie's Ford while he sent the main body of his troops across the river at McGowan's Ford. The night was dark and rainy, but Davidson, on the opposite bank, was not deceived by Cornwallis' strategy. When the British were halfway across the wide stream he opened fire, killing and wounding some of them. Although greatly outnumbered, the Americans for a time had the advantage, but Davidson was killed by British fire while attempting to regroup his men. Left without a leader, his men scattered.[11] In the thick of the fight, Cornwallis' horse had been shot from under him, but no time was lost as Tarleton was ordered to pursue the fleeing men.[10]

Meanwhile, on his way to Salisbury, Pickens met a body of militia who had been sent out to check the British advance. Since he had no force of his own, he joined them. Toward morning, wet and cold from the steadily falling rain, the men had paused at Torrence's Inn, ten miles from the river, when a sentry galloped in crying, "Tarleton is upon us . . . Tarleton is upon us!" Dashing to their horses, the men had scarcely mounted when through the morning mist they saw the enemy charging down the road. The militia, reining in, fired a volley into the advancing redcoats and killed seven dragoons and twenty horses before they put spurs to their mounts and rode away at full speed.[11]

Practically all of Pickens' men who had fought in the Battle of Cowpens had already returned home to provide for their families. The few who remained never abandoned the retreating army.[12] But Pickens was not destined long to be a leader with only a token force. Circumstances soon provided him with fighting men to command.

Shortly after the death of General Davidson, the North Carolina Whigs, realizing that a leader "more skillful, gallant, and efficient" than Pickens could not be found, elected him their commander.[13] He accepted the position and in so doing had the unique honor of serving in the field as Brigadier General of North Carolina and South Carolina militia at the same time.[14]

The Americans continued to retreat into North Carolina, drawing the British after them. Greene, having first sent word to General Huger to join him at Guilford, set out from Salisbury to rejoin Morgan who was en route there. On the evening of February 2, Greene overtook him just as he was about to cross the Yadkin River at Island Ford. Cornwallis was so close that his advance fired on the rear of the American army. Greene had possession of all the boats and flats, and since the river was too high to ford the British were once more stopped by a flooded stream.[15]

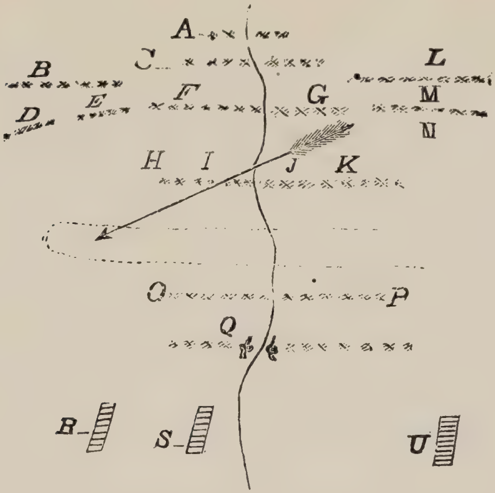
Early the following day Greene sent a letter to Pickens telling him to get behind Cornwallis and do all in his power to prevent foraging parties from collecting food. He also told him to continue to harass the enemy on the march and keep him informed about their movements. He warned Pickens to guard against surprise, and as soon as it was feasible to pass Cornwallis and join him at Guilford or wherever else his headquarters might be at the time.[16]

Meanwhile, Cornwallis, still unable to cross the river, had marched twenty-five miles upstream to upper fords which were still passable. Determined to force the Americans to fight before they got reinforcements from Virginia, he crossed the river and continued the pursuit. The delay, however, had enabled Greene and Morgan to reach Guilford and rest their troops. Two days later, on February 7, they were joined by General Huger and his men.

General Greene's object was not merely to escape from the British, but to entice Lord Cornwallis to pursue him into the interior where his resources would be exhausted and the inhabitants would rise up against him. For this reason he had halted at the Catawba until Cornwallis was ready to march; and then again he lingered on the banks of the Yadkin until the British had crossed. On February 10,

BATTLE OF THE COWPENS

First View of the Two Armies Formed for Action



References to the plate

A—American Main Guard.
B—Triplet's Command.
C—The Continentals.
L—Pickens' Command.

The commencement of the battle

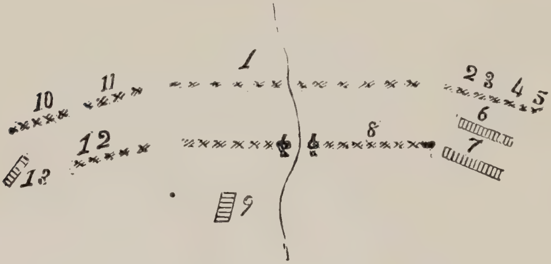
D—Triplet's.
E—Beaty's.
F and G—Colonel Howard's.
M and N—Pickens, with Anderson and Brandon.
H, I, J, K—Georgia and Carolina riflemen, under Cunningham, McDowal, Samuel Hammond and Donnolly.

Arrow points to valley or ravine

O and P—British advance, under Inman and Price.
Q—British line of battle with artillery.
R—British horse reserve.
S—McArthur, 71st regiment, reserve.
U—Tarleton's cavalry.

BATTLE OF THE COWPENS

Second View of the Two Armies After the Retreat of the American Militia.



1—Colonel Howard's Maryland troops.

2—Pickens; 3, Brandon; 4 and 5, Anderson and militia rallied.

6—Colonel Washington's charge.

7—Tarleton's charge.

8—British line advancing; 9, their horse reserve.

12—Major McArthur.

13—Major S. Hammond's second position
10—Major Triplet's second position — Americans.
11—Captain Beaty's second position

Both views of the Battle from Joseph Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences, American Revolution in the South.*

both armies were encamped on the same side of the river within twenty-five miles of each other, the British at Salem, the Americans at Guilford Courthouse.

Before deciding on his next move, Greene called a council of war and polled his officers on whether they should stand fast or retreat into Virginia. The American army consisted of two thousand thirty-six men fit for duty, five hundred of whom were the half-clad and half-fed militia, while the British had three thousand well-disciplined regulars, fully supplied and equipped to fight. To a man the council agreed that it was expedient to continue the retreat to Virginia.

Greene's plan was to reach the Dan River, which, rising in the mountains of Virginia, wound into North Carolina and thence back into Virginia. By crossing the river and putting it between him and the British, he hoped to gain time to gather enough reinforcements to drive Cornwallis back. Obtaining boats, Greene crossed over the lower part of the Dan; while Cornwallis, believing that the upper ford was the only route open during the rainy season, moved toward Hillsboro.

In order to protect his retreat and to conceal his movements, Greene detached a seven-hundred-man corps to stay between him and Cornwallis.[17] The command of this corps was given to Colonel Otho Williams of Maryland.[18] And Colonel Richard A. Allen was sent to conduct General Pickens nearer headquarters. Allen caught up with Pickens on Mitchell's River, in Surry County, North Carolina, where he was engaged in collecting troops, and escorted him to Salem where the general met a detachment of five to six hundred men from Rowan and Mecklenburg, under Colonel Loche. Pickens marched the troops to the Moravian towns and was joined there by Major Dixon and a hundred thirty horsemen. Continuing, Pickens reached Guilford Courthouse on the evening of February 18, and the following morning he proceeded to Boyd's Ferry.[19]

On the morning of February 19, Greene informed Pickens that Cornwallis had moved along the road to Hillsboro. Therefore, it was his plan to recross the Dan the next day with the army and get behind the British. "I am sensible," he wrote, "that your exertions have been very great . . . continue to pursue the enemy and harass them as much as possible. . . . If we can but delay Lord Cornwallis a day or two he must be ruined." He urged Pickens to write Colonel

(William) Campbell to join him (Pickens) on the Hillsboro road as time was precious and every moment counted.[20]

Recalled from the rear of the British army, Pickens and his men, accustomed to hardships, had endured the long tour of duty without apparent fatigue. Seldom eating more than once a day, they dogged the enemy's heels. Taking the redcoats unawares, they had fallen upon their outposts, shooting down the guards and cutting off the foraging parties. Nor could the vigilance of Cornwallis protect his troops from the attacks. Expert horsemen, well acquainted with the country, the militia would appear suddenly and a rifle shot would ring out, laying a sentry low. Before the alarm could be given, the Patriot marksman was gone, without fear of being chased in that wild country where neither British foot soldiers nor cavalrymen dared to venture. Often, too, they had ridden within range of the enemy rear, singled out their victims, discharged their guns, and galloped away.[21]

Acting as a buffer between the two armies, Pickens and his men, often lashed by storms of sleet and rain, rode through days that blurred into nights of scouting and skirmishing over roads that were quagmires of mud and through dripping woods. Their clothes, sodden and cold, clung to bodies aching from weariness and hunger, but the vigil of Pickens and his men never slackened. Sometimes from coverts of limbs woven together Pickens would watch the enemy pass. Then, swooping down upon their rear, he would order his troops to scatter the wagons and take the much-needed food and supplies for themselves.[22]

The hardships, however, of such arduous service began to tell on some of the men. Desertions increased and by February 16, Pickens had only three hundred sixty men, including the South Carolinians in Colonel McCall's brigade. Nevertheless, he continued his sorties against Cornwallis. On the 21st, when encamped ten miles from Hillsboro, Pickens detached two companies under McCall to attack a British post at Hart's Mill. The next morning at daybreak, within two-and-one-half miles of the British headquarters, McCall surprised the post. Eight men were killed or wounded and twenty-five prisoners were captured.[23]

As soon as McCall returned with the prisoners, Pickens moved to Stony Creek. The following morning while the men were eating breakfast, an alarm was sounded that the enemy was approaching in force. But before Pickens had time to break camp, a second sentry came in with the information that the approaching column were Patriots under Lieutenant Colonel Richard Henry Lee, dispatched by Greene to join Pickens.[24]

Ordering his men to mount, Pickens rode forward to welcome the gallant Virginian, whose service as a cavalry officer had won him the sobriquet of "Light Horse Harry."[25] Dashing and bold, the debonair Lee, in green jacket, white leather breeches, knee-high boots, and helmet with white trailing plume, saluted the grave, lean, partisan general, in his faded blue and buff coat, weather-worn leather breeches and English boots, who returned the salute and welcomed Lee and his legion to his camp. Thus the two renowned leaders, who cooperated so actively throughout the remainder of the war, met for the first time.[26]

Meanwhile, at Greene's headquarters the report had been received that Loyalist sympathizers were flocking to the British standard. To counteract this movement, Greene ordered Pickens, Lee, and Colonel Oldham, of Maryland, to recross the Dan, bypass Cornwallis, and get as close to British headquarters as possible, to discourage the gathering of Loyalists and to cut the British commander's communications. Pickens accordingly crossed the Dan River and halted near the road that led from the Haw River to Hillsboro.[27]

The militia suffered acutely from the intense cold; many of the men were without heavy coats, and there was only one blanket to every four men. The bleeding feet of the infantry left many a red-stained trail along the rough frozen roads.[28] Pickens knew that but for their courage and tenacious hope for freedom, they would have deserted and gone home to their families as many had done.[29] But none complained and in spite of their hardships they followed him unflinchingly into combat.

On the night of February 23, Pickens and Lee in a secluded camp near the Hillsboro road, received a visit from General Greene. The combined detachment of troops was put under Pickens' command. Realizing the jealousies that often arose between officers, Greene urged both men to let nothing disturb the harmony that existed between them, an admonition which neither forgot during the war.[30]

When the plans for the next move had been completed, the two generals covered themselves with Pickens' blanket and went to sleep. Before dawn they were up. After a hurried breakfast of cornbread and salt meat, Pickens and Greene, anxious to get their plans underway, parted. Greene recrossed the Dan with the army and marched in a westerly direction on the road to Guilford, toward the Haw River while Pickens, after dispersing the several Tory parties who were known to be within the district, passed over the Haw and marched in a line parallel to the route of the main army.[31]

Before Greene's departure, one of the scouts Pickens had sent out the previous evening returned with the information that the preceding day Tarleton had gone up the road toward the Haw River with a strong body of horse, foot, and artillery. Knowing that Colonel Loche, whom he had halted at the High Rock on the Haw, and Colonel William Preston, who was pressing forward to join him, were in danger, Pickens immediately set out to overtake Tarleton.[32]

Accompanied by Lee and his Legion, Pickens marched all day. At nightfall, they were within seven miles of the river. The next morning, February 25, he resumed the chase. Soon he saw smoking ruins along the way, and learned that the Tories were rising throughout the section between the Haw and Deep River. By noon he had crossed the Haw and was within three miles of the unsuspecting enemy. A countryman whom he met told Pickens that the British were at a nearby farmhouse and that the men had unsaddled their horses while they ate dinner and rested.

Eagerly Pickens and Lee deployed the troops for an attack and moved cautiously through the woods to the farmhouse. When they arrived upon the scene Tarleton had gone, but he had left two of his staff to settle for the food. Taking them prisoners Pickens continued the pursuit when he learned that Tarleton, unaware of their presence, intended to advance only six miles farther that night.

Since the Americans were in a region where Tory sympathies dominated, Pickens and Lee decided their strategy. So far, their movements had been executed so quickly that the news of their approach had not yet got abroad. Lee's Legion, dressed in short green coats similar to those worn by the enemy's light corps, was placed in front. Pickens' troops, whose only "uniform" was the sprig of green which each southern militiaman wore in his hat, brought up the rear. The two British prisoners were put in the center of the group, and the sergeant who guarded them was told to shoot them if they attempted any demonstration. As the

Americans approached from the direction of Hillsboro, over the same route traveled by the British, Pickens and Lee hoped that they would be taken for Loyalists on their way to join Tarleton. They had not gone far when they met two young horsemen who, with four hundred Loyalists under Colonel Pyle, were seeking Tarleton. As the young countrymen were being conducted to Lee, Pickens, fearing the green twigs might be detected, concealed the militia in the woods.[33]

So skillful was Lee in impersonating Tarleton that the men believed he was the British cavalry leader. Lee asked one of them to act as his guide and dispatched the other to Colonel Pyle with "Tarleton's" compliments and the request that Pyle draw his troops out on the edge of the road in order that he might pass without delay. A short time later the messenger returned saying that Colonel Pyle would be happy to comply with the wishes of Colonel Tarleton.

After a hasty conference, Pickens and Lee decided to continue down the road until they reached a position where they might demand a bloodless surrender. In order to reach Pyle, Lee had to advance the full length of the Tory line. Passing between the unsuspecting Tories, who sat with their guns across their shoulders, Lee disposed his horse in as advantageous a position as possible. Just as he reached the end of the line and was in the act of shaking hands with Pyle a gun cracked in the rear.[34]

A sharp-eyed Tory had recognized the green twig of the Whig riflemen and fired. Suddenly the enemies faced each other. The deadly sabres of Lee's Legion came down upon the hapless Tory troops before they could raise a gun. Astonished and believing that a mistake had been made, they cried, "We're your friends . . . we're your friends . . . God save the king!"[35]

The cries of loyalty, blended with anguish, were lost in the crack of guns and clash of sabres. At the first shot, the entire Patriot corps had turned upon the Loyalists. Many of the Tories fell under the first onslaught, while others broke in confusion, blood streaming from their wounds.[36]

Pickens, "whose humanity was proverbial," made an effort to stop the fighting, not only from the standpoint of mercy, but also for fear that Tarleton would hear the guns and would once more slip through his fingers. But before the orders could be obeyed, a hundred Tories lay dead. Few of the survivors escaped being seriously wounded. Even Pyle fell, but he survived his many wounds. The only American casualty was one horse.

Thwarted in his valiant endeavor to overtake Tarleton, Pickens wrote Greene, "Never was there a more glorious opportunity of cutting off a detachment than this; when, pushing on with the utmost hope, and our men in the highest spirits, our sanguine expectations were blasted by our falling in with a body of from 2-300 Tories under Colonel Pyle."[37]

Pickens became apprehensive for the safety of Preston. Soon after the defeat of Pyle, he moved forward in an attempt to get between Preston and Tarleton.[38] At sunset he and Lee came in sight of the British camp. They hesitated, debating the merits of immediate action even at that late hour. Since it was almost dark and their troops were exhausted, they decided to postpone the attack until morning.[39]

Meanwhile, Tarleton and his officers, having supped gaily, were waiting for morning to strike at Preston. Earlier in the evening when messengers arrived with the news of Pyle's defeat, Tarleton believed that Preston had been responsible. Later in the night, however, a courier from Cornwallis arrived with orders to recross the Haw without delay. Before Tarleton had time to break camp two more messages were received from his commander, telling him of Greene's return and of the movements of Pickens. Then, thoroughly aware of his danger, Tarleton hurriedly set out for the river, hoping to cross it during the night and rejoin Cornwallis.

Several hours before dawn, Pickens and Lee moved to attack Tarleton's camp. When they discovered that he had gone, they followed his tracks by the light of pine torches. The British had an hour-and-a-half head start, but Pickens' advance gained on them and reached the river in time to see the enemy going up the opposite bank. Before Pickens could cross over, Tarleton placed artillery at the ford, halting the chase.[40]

Disappointed at the turn of events, Pickens turned up the banks of the Haw and stopped at the first settlement where he could obtain food and rest for his men. Some time during the day he was joined by Preston.[41]

News of the ruse which brought about Pyle's defeat was widespread. Not only did Greene notify General George Washington of the victory, but when Governor Thomas Jefferson of Virginia heard it, he also wrote the commander-in-chief that "on the 25th General Pickens and Lieutenant Colonel Lee routed a body of 300 Tories on the Haw River who were in arms to join the British army, killed upwards of 100, and wounded most of the rest, which had a happy effect on the dis-affected in that country."[42]

Thus the failure to capture Tarleton was offset by the effect of Pyle's defeat on the inhabitants of that section. The sight of the bleeding survivors as they passed their doors carried terror into every Tory dwelling and lessened their ardor to become part of the king's army.[43]

On the day after Tarleton's escape, Pickens, in his quarters on Stoney Creek, received word that Tarleton had recrossed the Haw and was on his trail. Breaking camp, Pickens retreated throughout the day, halting only after dark. However, in the night his pickets were shot at, and Pickens was once more in the saddle, eluding Tarleton. As soon as morning came, he dispatched a message to Lee, who had gone off on a sortie of his own, to rejoin him the following day.[44]

Meanwhile Cornwallis, finding that the Pyle catastrophe had produced such terror among the Loyalists that few were willing to serve, moved from Hillsboro to a neighborhood where he hoped to find stronger and more generous adherents to the royal cause. He crossed the Haw with his army and took a position near Alamance Creek. When Greene learned of the move, he crossed the Haw near its source and pitched camp between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, about fifteen miles above the British position. At the same time he deployed his light corps under Colonel Williams with instructions to cooperate with Pickens and Lee.[45]

Within a few miles of the British army, Greene changed positions every night. The movements of the militia and light troops were so timed and regulated that the British were bewildered and perplexed. One day Greene would move as if he planned a junction with Williams. The next day he would fall back upon Troublesome Creek or Reedy Fork and reappear suddenly in another quarter. To the apprehensive Loyalists, also, it seemed that several armies were moving at once and they decided this was not the time to declare themselves. To the great annoyance of Cornwallis they hung up their guns and stayed at home.[46]

Hovering near the British army, Pickens and Lee continued to cut off Cornwallis' supplies, intercept his couriers, capture his foraging parties, skirmish with his advance troops, and exhaust not only his resources but his spirit and patience as well. One day, almost as if taunting the whole British army, Pickens and Lee daringly maneuvered in sight of their camp.[47]

For some time Cornwallis had not sent out a detachment for fear of weakening his main army, but then he dispatched Tarleton against the Patriots[48] for a series of encounters. On March 2 Tarleton and Pickens' troops skirmished at Clapp's Mill, followed by several fights the next day.[49]

Desertions meanwhile continued at an alarming rate in Pickens' command. On March 4, from Camp Shearer on Alamance Creek, Pickens reported to General Greene that he had only four hundred fifty-three men in the four regiments in his brigade.[50] The following day he told Greene that, although willing to comply with his order of that date to provide his troops with three days' ration of cooked food for immediate action, he was afraid that in a few days' time there would not be a man left from the Salisbury district.[51] Nor were the Salisbury men the only ones who quit the field. The duty with Pickens was so hard that Colonel Preston's men, after about two weeks against the enemy's lines, refused to stay longer.[52] Pickens' own troops from South Carolina and Georgia feared that another enemy force would land on their shores and wanted to return to their respective states to launch an expedition against the outposts still in British possession.[53] But despite the desertions and the anxiety over affairs at home, the few faithful men who remained with Pickens continued the fight.

From the time he had joined Morgan, Pickens had not rested a day.[54] Some of his men and officers had been on active duty since the fall of Charleston; while others, like himself, had left their homes and taken the field when their paroles had been violated. Receiving neither clothing nor pay, they had returned to service mounted at their own expense. They were not men who could minister to their wants by ignoring the rights of others; most of them came from good families and were owners of property. But their condition at this time was scarcely to be borne; not a man among them had even an extra shirt. Yet no one deserted, no one complained, and, foregoing the prevailing custom of volunteers, they refused to follow the example of those who came and went as they pleased.

Nor did Pickens' men ask to be discharged. Never shirking their duty, even in the midst of retreat, privation, and suffering, they obeyed his orders cheerfully. Notwithstanding the position of both armies, Pickens felt that he could no longer postpone calling General Greene's attention to their plight. Therefore, when Governor Rutledge arrived at Greene's camp and asked to see Pickens, events played into the militia leader's hands. For some time, Pickens said, his men had wanted to return to South Carolina and Georgia to drive the enemy from their posts before they received reinforcements. Furthermore, he described their destitute condition. If they should be permitted to return south they would be able to replenish their clothes from family and friends. The general also said that in spite of the fact that he should like to see what would happen to Cornwallis, he preferred to return to South Carolina with his men. He was willing, he said, to serve his country wherever he was needed, but he could render a more effective service in a section where he was better known.

Pickens' request was not granted at that time. But Governor Rutledge expressed concern over the affairs in South Carolina, not only because of the British occupation, but also on account of the threat of an Indian uprising along the frontier.[55]

Upon his return to camp, on the evening of March 6, Pickens found much dissatisfaction among his men over events that had taken place during his absence. In a skirmish at Wetzell's Mill,[56] they felt that they had been unduly exposed by being ordered to cover the retreat of the regulars under Colonel Williams. They had finally decided to return to their own states, but they agreed to wait until Pickens could confer with Greene.[57]

Pickens informed General Greene of the developments. The following day, March 8, he received a letter from him saying that the affairs in South Carolina were such as to require Pickens' immediate return. He would be accompanied by the South Carolina and Georgia troops who were under his command, and, upon his arrival in the state, he would report to General Sumter and request his orders.[58]

Shortly after Greene's instructions were received, Pickens and his men turned their faces South. When he reached

South Carolina, he found the people torn by strife and in dire distress from "marauding and plundering parties" sent out by the enemy. Feeling was high and when foe met foe, quarter was seldom given. So great were the hardships and suffering of the people that only the timely arrival of Pickens and his men prevented the evacuation of the entire Whig population from the Up Country.[59]

CHAPTER VII

The Siege of Augusta

PICKENS RETURNED to South Carolina bearing a letter from Governor Rutledge to General Sumter, who was in command of all the militia within the state.[1] Rutledge was in North Carolina, still unable to return to his capital because of the British occupation. He wrote that he would leave in a few days for Philadelphia, where he hoped to procure clothing for the half-clad militia. "I am persuaded," he said, "of your utmost attention and that you will pursue such measures as may be serviceable to the State, and I doubt not that General Marion (to whom I have wrote) and General Pickens (to whom I have spoke on the subject) will forward your views to the utmost of their power."[2]

A similar letter was written to Marion. Rutledge hoped that Marion "would cultivate a good understanding with Gen'ls Sumter and Pickens." Thus, the governor, although in exile, proceeded with plans to free South Carolina by urging the cooperation of the three partisan leaders, Marion, Sumter, and Pickens.[3]

From the first, Pickens cooperated fully, but Marion appeared less willing to subordinate his efforts to those of Sumter. Part of Marion's reluctance was attributed to objections to the so-called "Sumter Law" by which troops were to be paid from booty, a practice that had been in force among the British for some time. Although meticulous in his opposition to anything that might be construed to be dishonorable, Pickens agreed to the plan, because it was the destitute condition of the militiamen who had been with him in North Carolina and Virginia that had made them return home when their two months' enlistment was up.[4]

After Pickens delivered Rutledge's letter to Sumter, he turned toward Long Canes in hopes of soon seeing his wife and children. But reports of British activities in the vicinity warned him to make his way cautiously toward Ninety Six.

En route he received a message from Sumter that a party of Tories from New York, under Captain Grey, had dispersed a body of militia on Dutchman Creek, had killed two captains and sixteen privates, and had taken eighteen prisoners without losing a man.

Pickens replied immediately. "Your favor of yesterday," he wrote, "is just now come to hand. . . . I am truly concerned for the loss of the officers you mentioned. I hope to see you on Thursday if some unforeseen event does not prevent.

"I had an account yesterday that our militia and light corps had skirmished with a detachment of Cornwallis' army, and had drove them into their main body, but the enemy did not pursue ours when they retreated to General Greene. . . . General O'Hara was mortally wounded and Colonel Tarleton shot in the thigh . . . the enemies' loss was 300 on the ground. I immediately dispatched a messenger to bring the certainty, whom I hourly expect. . . ."[5]

When Pickens received word that Tory Dunlap, who had raided the Pickens home in December, was again terrorizing the countryside, he detached McCall and Clark, who had recovered from the wound he had received at Long Canes in December, to go after him. They caught up with Dunlap's party at Beattie's Mill on the Little River. Seizing a bridge, McCall cut off his retreat, while Clark attacked the mill where the Tories had taken refuge.

No doubt remembering his own conduct and dreading the revenge of the Americans, Dunlap resisted Clark's attack until thirty-four of his party of seventy-five were dead, and he and most of the others wounded. Among the latter, Dunlap, unable to hold out longer, raised a white flag and surrendered to Clark. In the Patriot party were many whose families had suffered at his hands, so it was not surprising that Dunlap did not live to see daybreak.[6]

General Pickens' sense of honor was outraged by this calculated murder, in spite of Dunlap's infamous character, and he immediately offered a reward for the perpetrator. He sent a flag to Cruger at Ninety Six, telling him of the deed and the horror with which American officers looked upon such acts. The massacres condoned by those who called themselves British officers, he was convinced, had caused the inhuman retaliation. He then dispatched a letter to General Greene telling him of the situation and of the steps he had taken.[7]

Greene congratulated Pickens and said that although he regretted the cause of Dunlap's death it afforded him great satisfaction to know that Pickens had taken "just and prudent measures" to bring the criminals to justice. Since the country was in such distress from the plundering and marauding of the enemy, he felt it was "a most fortunate circumstance" that Pickens had returned to South Carolina "to spirit up the people" and arouse them to greater efforts.[8]

Finally Pickens was able to reach his home, but he had little time to spend with his family. Britishers and Tories still controlled the district, and he was determined to drive them out. Encouraged by the example he set, the Whigs rallied to his support, and the rout began. Without stopping to rest or sleep, Pickens succeeded in breaking up the Tory settlements so effectively that the Loyalists were forced to seek protection under British guns at Ninety Six.[9]

Even there they were not safe, for Pickens and his men under cover of night continued to swoop down on them without warning. The old revolutionary spirit of the Whigs was rekindled and the tide began to turn against the British. With Pickens at their head, the Patriots appeared to the Loyalists to be hiding behind every bush. The names of Pickens, Sumter, and Marion produced panic in every Tory household.

The successes of the partisans encouraged Greene to return to South Carolina, and after the battle at Guilford Courthouse, he set out with only a handful of Continental troops for Camden. With the cooperation of the three partisan leaders he planned to clear the British out of Camden, Ninety Six, and Augusta, Georgia, as his first step in freeing the state from the enemy. Pickens' part was to harass foraging parties at Ninety Six and Augusta as thoroughly as possible.[10]

Greene asked Sumter to issue orders to Pickens and Marion to marshal every available militiaman to cooperate with him upon his arrival in the state.[11] This command, however, was not easily executed for at that time there was no state government at hand which could draft men. Only through the influence of such men as Pickens and Marion, who appealed to the patriotism of the Whigs, were men recruited.[12]

Pickens was camped on the Enoree River, scouring the country for additional men, when he learned that Cruger, on

March 31, had marched to Harrison's store on Fair Forest Creek, intending to establish a garrison there. However, when Pickens advanced to meet him he discovered that he had withdrawn to Williams' Fort, fifteen miles north of Ninety Six. Anxious to prevent Cruger's return, Pickens wrote Sumter for assistance.[13] Sumter sent four regiments and asked Pickens to cross the Tyger River, take a position near Fishdam Ford, and collect provisions in anticipation of General Greene's arrival.[14]

Meanwhile, recruitment for Pickens' brigade went on. With the aid of colonels Robert Anderson, Thomas Brandon, LeRoy Hammond, Samuel Hammond, William Harden, Joseph Hayes, Benjamin Roebuck, John Thomas, Jr., and Wilkinson along with the assistance of Elijah Clark, Twiggs, and Jackson from Georgia, a brigade was formed. Missing from the list was the name of Pickens' good friend James McCall, who upon his return from the North Carolina campaign had contracted smallpox and died early in April.[15] His death was a blow to Pickens, but there was little time to grieve for the dead when mere living itself was a challenge.

With the brigade ready for duty, Pickens detached Colonel Samuel Hammond and Major James Jackson to the Georgia border. Passing through Ninety Six District, they reached the Savannah River near Pace's Ferry, about twenty-four miles above Augusta where they were joined by a party of men under Captain Thomas Kee of Colonel LeRoy Hammond's regiment. The following day Captain Kee attacked and defeated a party of Tories on Horner's Creek. He then advanced to the Savannah River where he defeated the British stationed at Colonel LeRoy Hammond's mill.

Within a few days two or three hundred men from Hammond's regiment joined Colonel Samuel Hammond's force, thereby enabling Major Jackson to cross into Georgia and join the troops collecting there.

On April 13, Colonel Harden captured Fort Balfour. Three days later Lieutenant Colonel Williamson of Georgia, in the absence of Colonel Clark, who was ill with smallpox, was ordered to the vicinity of Augusta to harass Brown, the Tory leader, who occupied the town.

About April 25, while thus deploying his brigade, Pickens reported in person to Sumter at his camp on the Congaree River at Friday's Ferry. The morning of the 26th, Pickens left with a regiment to take command in the neighborhood of

Ninety Six.[16] South of the British garrison, he maneuvered between Ninety Six and Augusta and prevented Cruger from sending reinforcements to Brown at Augusta. To insure the success of his plan, Pickens ordered colonels Brandon and Hayes to hover on the east side of Ninety Six to intercept supplies. [17]

About the middle of May, Clark rejoined the American forces before Augusta, just in time to receive word that a party of Loyalists under Major Dill were on their way to Augusta to join Brown. He immediately dispatched captains Shelby and Carr to intercept them. They surprised the Loyalists at Walker's Bridge on Briar Creek, killed and wounded a number, and dispersed the rest without the loss of a single man. Then confident that he would not have to retreat, Clark sent his troops' horses with a guard of six men to Beech Island, below Augusta on the Carolina side of the Savannah River. When Brown learned of this, he ordered a detachment of regular troops, militia, and Indians down the river by land and canoe, to cut off the guard and capture the horses. As soon as Clark's scout reported the move, Clark sent Shelby and Carr after them. But they arrived too late. The guard had been killed, and Brown's men were returning to Augusta with the horses. Doubling back through the woods, Shelby and Carr ambushed the party, and every horse was recovered. Thus Pickens' forces converged on Augusta, which was practically in a state of siege from May 15 until the surrender on June 5.

While Pickens was engaged between Ninety Six and Augusta, General Greene was defeated by Lord Rawdon on April 25 at Hobkirk's Hill. He then took a position at Colonel's Creek, on the west side of the Wateree River where he intended to make another stand.[18] About May 1, Pickens received word that Lord Rawdon had evacuated Camden. Such a move led him to believe that Cruger would likewise quit Ninety Six, and march to the relief of Colonel Brown at Augusta and together they would retreat to Savannah. As usual, Pickens was short of men and ammunition, and he feared he would have no choice but to move out of the way, unless Greene sent reinforcements and equipment. With help, Pickens hoped to capture the whole enemy force in that quarter.[19]

Greene received Pickens' dispatch and immediately sent powder, lead, and flints, suggesting he encourage the men to enlist for at least four months. He also told Pickens to take all weapons from the old and infirm and give them to the "young and healthy" men to alleviate the scarcity of arms.[20]

In the meantime, Sumter and Lee had forced the British garrison at Fort Granby to surrender. Whereupon Sumter called for Pickens, Marion, and Lee to join him in a swift push toward Charleston. Leaving Colonel Samuel Hammond and Major Jackson to cover the country between Ninety Six and Augusta and Clark to guard the latter post, Pickens joined Sumter near the coast. Skirmishing with Tory parties, they reached Quinby Bridge, but found the British forces too strong in the area and fell back to the interior.[21]

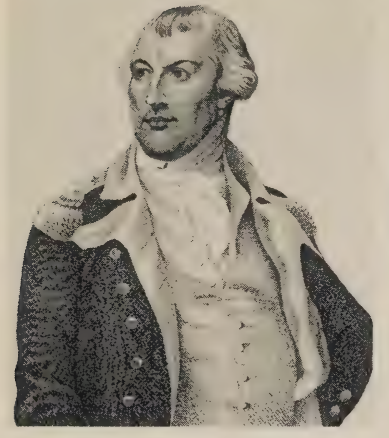
Pickens returned to the Ninety Six neighborhood, and found that arms and ammunition had arrived from General Greene. He determined to wrest the post at Augusta from the British without further delay. Leaving the troops under colonels Hayes and Anderson, Pickens set off for Augusta accompanied by Hammond and Jackson. At the same time he called the men of the western highlands to take up their arms and join the fight. The Whigs responded enthusiastically and followed him across the Savannah River into Georgia.

On May 9, when Pickens reached the Patriot camp, he found that the annual boat of presents from the British to the Indians had arrived and was protected by the British guns at Fort Galphin. Greatly in need of supplies, Clark posted a guard to prevent the boat's escape.[22]

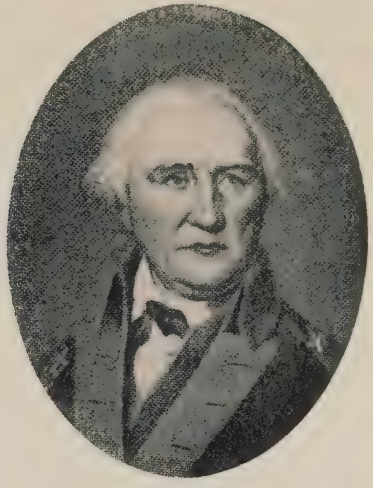
Some days later when Lee came into camp, Pickens asked him to conduct the operations against Fort Galphin while he made the necessary plans to take Augusta.[23] Colonel Hammond's regiment and part of Colonel Harden's joined Major Rudolph of Lee's Legion. The fort capitulated on May 21, and the boat with its contents, including a quantity of clothing, blankets, small arms, rum, salt, ammunition, and other articles, was captured. Several of the enemy were killed and one hundred twenty-six were made prisoners.[24]

Despite the fact that Colonel Lee's "ambition and selfishness in the interest of his own command had embroiled himself and the Commander-in-Chief" with Marion and Sumter, the relations between Pickens and Lee remained cordial. Fortunately for the service, General Pickens pos-

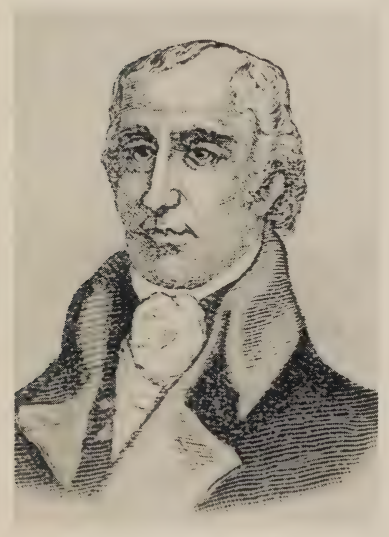
HEROES OF COWPENS



Nathanael Greene

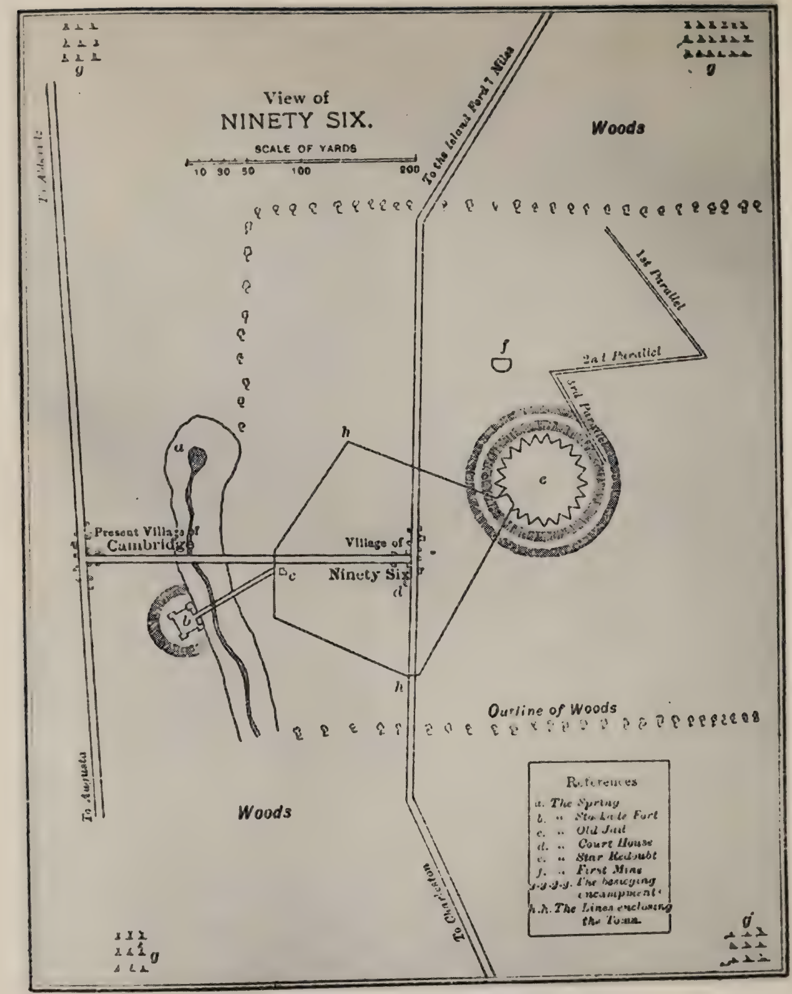


Daniel Morgan



Andrew Pickens
An early portrait.

Hilt of Sword
Presented to Pickens


View of
NINETY SIX.
SCALE OF YARDS
10 30 50 100 200
To the Island Ford 7 Miles
Woods
1st Parallel
2nd Parallel
3rd Parallel
f
a
h
c
Present Village of
Cambridge
Village of
Ninety Six
c
d
b
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Outline of Woods
Woods
To Augusta
To Charleston
g
g
g
g
References
a. The Spring
b. " Stockade Fort
c. " Old Jail
d. " Court House
e. " Star Redoubt
f. " First Mine
g.g.g.g. The besieging encampments
h.h. The Lines enclosing the Town.

THE SIEGE OF NINETY SIX

The Star Redoubt may still be seen today, although trees and undergrowth, along with erosion, have damaged it to some extent. From William Johnson's *Life of Nathanael Greene.*

sessed both a modesty and a tact which were at once illustrated upon his again coming to act with the Continental troops after serving with them in North Carolina.[25] When the spoils of the captured fort fell into his hands, Pickens called Greene's attention to the destitute condition of the men in his command and asked permission to use part of the booty for the relief of his troops.

Greene authorized him to divide the whole according to his "sense of justice and the good of the service." Thereupon Pickens set aside the military stores for the public services. He sent thirteen wagons with rum, salt, sugar, medicines, etc., to the main army, and divided the clothing equally among the troops of Georgia, South Carolina, and the Continental army. The "fowling-pieces," at General Greene's suggestion, were given to the militia.

While the plans for the siege of Augusta were being perfected, frequent excursions were made into the surrounding country on both sides of the river to gather information and disperse Colonel Brown's foraging parties from Fort Cornwallis at Augusta. All such "tours of observation" had to be carried out with the utmost secrecy for Brown was an active and vigilant enemy who never allowed an opportunity to pass for striking a blow at the Patriots.[26] Prior to the siege he had "kept the adjacent country in a state of constant alarm by his scouts, who were out both day and night, burning houses, plundering, and mercilessly murdering all who fell into their hands."

But when Pickens determined to put a stop to the outrages and assigned the task to Colonel Samuel Hammond, "Brown could scarcely make a move that was not known, checked, or rendered futile."

Situated on a plain on the south bank of the Savannah River with dense forest to the west, Augusta was defended by two forts. Fort Grierson was a half mile away from the settlement on a swampy ravine that ran into the Savannah; and Fort Cornwallis stood in the middle of the town, strong and well-planned.[27] It was here that Colonel Brown, commander of the British forces in upper Georgia, had his headquarters.

When Augusta was first settled, every house of any consequence was enclosed by a strong wooden fortification, of three-inch planks, set in deep grooves of upright posts, which were ten to twelve feet high. Some of the houses had sturdy pentagonal flankers at the corners, with room for twenty to thirty men; while others had demi-flankers, which projected from both sides of the center of the houses. The flankers had two stories and on the upper floor a number of three-pounders were mounted. In times of peace these fortresses served as carriage-houses and offices. It was in such quarters as these that the British were intrenched.[28]

General Pickens and his forces made camp in the woods to the rear of Fort Cornwallis which was garrisoned by three hundred twenty Provincials and two hundred Negroes; Fort Grierson had about eighty militia and two pieces of artillery. At a point about halfway between the two forts, Pickens set up his artillery to be able to fire effectively on both strongholds.[29]

After several unsuccessful attempts to get Brown to surrender, Pickens decided to attack Fort Grierson, the weaker of the two forts. On May 23, the combined forces of Pickens, Lee, and Clark advanced from all sides of the fortification. Pickens and Clark struck from the northwest, while the Georgia militia attacked the fort on the northeast; Lee, with his infantry and artillery, took a position on the south side to be able to support Eaton or intercept Brown should he attempt to send aid from Fort Cornwallis. The cavalry led by Eggleston was posted in the woods south of Lee, ready to fall upon Brown's rear if he sallied out.[30]

According to plan, Pickens and Lee opened fire on the fort. Discovering that Colonel Grierson was in trouble, at the fort of the same name, Brown advanced with two fieldpieces and was warmly assailed by Pickens and Eaton. Lee intercepted Brown, stopping his advance, and for a time the two exchanged shots with little effect on either side. When the British saw that resistance was useless, they attempted to reach Fort Cornwallis. Prepared for such a move, Colonel Clark fell upon them. Under cover of the river bank, thirty of the British were killed and a number captured, but Colonel Grierson and some of his men succeeded in reaching the fort. There were a few casualties on the Patriot side, but unfortunately, Major Eaton was among the dead.[31]

Pickens and Lee turned their attention to Fort Cornwallis where Grierson had joined Brown. Inside, the fortifications were quickly strengthened. One of the ruses used was to place American prisoners in bastions most exposed to the

American fire. Among the prisoners was the father of Samuel Alexander, who had commanded one of the American batteries. With their plans completed, the British burrowed underground and came out only to fire on the besiegers.[32]

Determined to rout them, Pickens had approaches built near the river and batteries thrown up along the bank. Under Lee's supervision, he ordered a thirty-foot tower of logs built behind an old frame house that Brown had failed to destroy.[33] The work was begun on May 30, and despite repeated attacks, the tower was finished.[34]

Pickens and Lee asked for surrender, and on May 31, wrote to Brown:

"Sir,—The usage of war renders it necessary that we present you with an opportunity of avoiding the destruction which impends your garrison.

"We have deferred our summons to this late date to preclude the necessity of much correspondence on the occasion. You see the strength of the invading forces, the progress of our works; and you may inform yourself of the situation of the two armies by inquiries from Captain Armstrong of the Legion, who has the honour to bear this."[35]

Brown's response was characteristic of the man. "Gentlemen,—What progress you have made in your works I am no stranger to. It is my duty and inclination to defend this place to the last extremity."

On June 1, Brown attempted to destroy the tower, but the occupants were ready. Commanding one division in person, Pickens was supported by a company of infantry from Lee's Legion; while Clark, supported by Rudolph's company, had charge of the other division. That night, at ten o'clock, the British struck. One-third of the enemy troops charged Clark's division while the remaining force under Brown attacked Pickens. After a vigorous charge by the enemy, Pickens was forced to fall back until reinforcements arrived, whereupon he ordered an advance. Surging forward at bayonet point, the Americans drove Brown back in a bitter hand-to-hand struggle. The losses on both sides were the heaviest of the entire siege, except during the attack on Fort Grierson.[36]

Having failed in his attempt to take the tower, Brown ordered one of his sergeants to pretend to be a deserter and get inside the tower and set it afire. Lee received the "deserter" and arranged for him to go to the tower to direct Captain Finley's fire on Brown's magazine. But just before the order was executed, Lee became suspicious, countermanded the order, and placed the spy under guard.

Meanwhile, Pickens had received word that the British from Savannah were collecting a force at Ebenezer to lift the siege at Augusta. He immediately dispatched Captain McKay down river to gain further intelligence. On the night of June 1, McKay returned with the information that seventy regulars and three hundred militia were at Ebenezer, but he did not believe the force sufficient to move against Pickens.[37]

Relieved on that score, Pickens concentrated on effecting a surrender without an all-out assault on the fort. Therefore, on June 3, after consultation with Colonel Lee, Pickens sent another message to Brown:

"Sir:—It is not our disposition to press the unfortunate. To prevent the effusion of blood, which must follow perseverance in your fruitless resistance, we inform you we are willing, though in the grasp of victory, to grant such terms as a comparative view of our respective situations can warrant.

"Your determination will be considered as conclusive, and will regulate our conduct."[38]

Still unyielding, Brown replied:

"Gentlemen, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your summons of this day, and to assure you that, as it is my duty, it is likewise my inclination, to defend this post to the last extremity."

Preparations were made, and Pickens ordered a general assault for nine o'clock on the following morning. Suddenly in the dark a violent explosion rocked the camp. Earlier in the evening Pickens had sent a detachment to investigate the possibility of putting some of his best riflemen in one of the two houses that had been vacated near Fort Cornwallis. When he got word that the plan was feasible, Pickens ordered the officer in charge to advance before daybreak and take his position in the house.[39]

Meanwhile, Brown, who had mined the house, had heard the scouting party. Believing that an attack was imminent and that the troops were still in the house, he had the charge set off at three o'clock in the morning. But by that time the scouts had gone and the troops had not arrived. A few hours more and some of the best marksmen in Pickens' regiment would have been blown up.

Later in the morning, Pickens and Lee, moved by the perilous situation of the prisoners in the exposed location, sent another appeal to Brown:

"Sir,—We beg leave to propose that the prisoners in your possession may be sent out of the fort, and that they may be considered yours or ours as the siege may terminate.

"Confident that you cannot refuse this dictate of humanity and custom of war, we have only to say that any request from you of a similar nature will meet with our assent."[40]

Brown promptly refused.

But before the American attack could be launched, Brown sent an officer with a flag and a message to Pickens and Lee:

"Gentlemen,—In your summons of the 3rd instant, no particular conditions were specified: I postponed the consideration of it to this day.

"From a desire to lessen the distresses of war to individuals, I am inclined to propose to you my acceptance of the inclosed terms, which, being pretty similar to those granted to the commanding officers of the American troops and garrison in Charleston, I imagine will be honorable to both parties."

Attached to the message were Brown's terms of surrender, in ten articles.

When it was evident that a surrender would be effected, operations were suspended for the day while Pickens and Lee studied the terms. Article by article they answered them, and then added one of their own. The following morning the revised proposition was returned to Brown.

When Brown read the revised terms by which his officers would be paroled, but the men would be held as prisoners of war, he protested, and said he could not agree to the exclusion from parole of his men.[41]

Back came the reply from Pickens and Lee: "In our answer of this morning, we granted the most generous terms in our power to give, which we beg leave to refer to as final on our part."

Brown protested again, "As some of the articles proposed by you are generally expressed, I have taken the liberty of deputing three gentlemen to wait upon you for a particular explanation of the respective articles."[42]

Twelve o'clock had been set for the capitulation, and time for further negotiations was short. Brown never received a reply to his last protest, but just before the time expired, he and his troops marched out of the fort and surrendered to Pickens.[43]

Augusta was at last free after being held by the British for a year. During the siege fifty-two British were killed and three hundred thirty-four were wounded and captured, while the American losses were sixteen killed and thirty-five wounded.[44]

With Brown as a prisoner in his charge, Pickens was forced to protect him from the wrath of the people who had suffered at his hands. Remembering the indiscriminate hangings where victims had been cut down before they died and turned over to the Indians for further torture, the people clamored for a chance to wreak their vengeance upon the perpetrator.[45] Nor did the accounts of the treatment of the American prisoners who were released when Augusta fell lessen the tension.[46] The animosity reached its climax on June 6.[47]

During the afternoon, while General Pickens was at Fort Cornwallis, an unidentified horseman rode up to the building where Colonel Grierson was confined. Without dismounting, the rider fired through the doorway and killed him and then rode off to safety though several men pursued him.

The following day, Pickens notified General Greene of the incident and said he had given orders for Colonel Grierson to be buried that afternoon with military honors. "Col. Brown," he wrote, "was also insulted yesterday . . . and the people are so much exasperated against some individuals, I have found it necessary to give orders to cross the river with the prisoners, under the care of Col. Hammond's regiment, and Capt. Smith's detachment of North Carolinians, and march them to Ninety Six, or till I meet your orders respecting them, being fully persuaded that, were they to march to Savannah, they would be beset on the road, but think they might go to Charleston by way of Ninety Six, if you should so order."

But the plans for sending the prisoners to Ninety Six were changed, and, instead, Colonel Brown and his men were sent down the river to Savannah.[48]

Immediately after Brown's surrender, Colonel Lee with the artillery joined General Greene who had established camp before Ninety Six, about a week earlier. General Pickens remained at Augusta until the removal of the prisoners, the disposal of the captured supplies, and the organization of the post under the Patriots. He sent a return of the prisoners and arms to Greene, and notified him that he had offered a hundred-guinea reward to the captor of the man who had killed Grierson.[49] With these and other details attended to, Pickens and his men set out to join Greene, leaving Captain Michael Rudolph, with a detachment of Legion infantry, in command at Augusta.[50]

CHAPTER VIII

The Siege of Ninety Six

SOON AFTER the capture of Fort Granby, General Greene broke camp at nearby Friday's Ferry on the Congaree River, and headed for Ninety Six, the only British post left in the Up Country. He arrived on May 22, the day after the surrender of Fort Galphin, determined to wrest Ninety Six from the enemy.[1]

After the fall of Charleston, Ninety Six had been garrisoned by the British. As their most advanced post it became a pivot for extensive operations (supporting Camden and Augusta) and was the center for maintaining communications with the Indians. Losing Ninety Six would be the finishing blow to British strength in the interior of the state.[2]

But the garrison was strong. Under Colonel Cruger's command were five hundred fifty men: two hundred New Jersey volunteers, one hundred fifty from DeLancey's Royal Battalion of New York, and numerous Tories from the neighborhood, commanded by Colonel King. Thus, as Greene faced Cruger, American was pitted against American and neighbor against neighbor.[3]

Facing the British, Greene could not help but feel anxious about the outcome. So far, his successes had consisted more in "baffling" the enemy and discovering his plans than in positive victory; no British officer had been forced to surrender to him in person. As he observed the works before him, he was not too hopeful of victory. Cruger and his engineer, Lieutenant Haldane, had worked night and day to strengthen the fortifications which were a short distance from town in the fork of the roads leading to Charleston and Augusta. West of the fork was a small stream from which the garrison got its water. Above the west bank, on a slight rise, was a stockade; and on the east bank stood the jail, fortified and garrisoned.

Northeast of the village of Ninety Six, a star-shaped redoubt consisting of a stronghold, with eight salient and eight re-entrant angles, was the principal defense. Around it was a deep ditch. Strengthened by a fraise and abatis, the entire village was enclosed by a line of notched-log blockhouses and covered communications that extended to the star redoubt. As the garrison was supplied with water from the stream on the west side, this point was protected by a stockade on the rise of ground west of the jail. Parapets of earth had been thrown up, increasing and strengthening the works.[4]

The Patriots surrounded the camp with no more than a thousand Continental soldiers and militia. Realizing that an attack against such a strong fortification with a limited number of trained men would be futile, General Greene decided that the best way to reduce the post was by siege. With this plan in mind, his Polish engineer, Thaddeus Kosciusko, accordingly broke ground a short distance north of the star redoubt on May 22.[5]

Scarcely had Kosciusko marked out his first parallel and the Americans commenced operations in front of the fort, when Cruger prepared to interrupt them. Throwing out a platform in one of the angles, he mounted it with three cannons, manned it with infantry, and he poured a withering fire into the Patriots. At the same time a party under Lieutenant Roney sallied out of the fort with fixed bayonets and drove the besiegers back, destroying their works and taking their "intrenching tools." The only British loss was Lieutenant Roney. Greene heard of the attack and sent a detachment to reinforce Kosciusko, but it arrived too late.[6]

Then, finding it necessary to be more cautious, Greene ordered the approaches to be started at a more "respectable distance," in a protecting ravine. After the first parallel was finished, a mine was begun, directed against the starfort and under cover of a battery erected on the enemy's right. In the meantime Greene became more anxious to complete the reduction of the post in the least possible time, and sent to Pickens, who was still near Augusta, for several barrels of powder "to blow up the works" of the British.[7]

Day and night the labor continued. In the ditches, the troops worked in relays, some on guard while others slept on their arms, in order to repel the frequent sallies of the besieged. Despite the attacks, the works advanced steadily, although a fierce struggle accompanied every step forward, and not a night passed without loss of lives on both sides.[8]

On June 3, when the second parallel was finished, Greene sent a flag to the British commander, asking him to surrender. Cruger rejected the demand, and fired the three field-pieces from the star redoubt regularly throughout the day and night. With the beginning of the third American parallel, Cruger increased his defense by incorporating the Negro laborers into his army; while outside, a marauding party under William Cunningham interfered seriously with the Patriot supplies, the gathering of recruits, and General Greene's communications.

To counteract the menace of the cannons, Greene built towers of rough-hewn logs. He mounted them with riflemen and picked off the enemy artillerymen, succeeding in silencing the guns by day, but during the night the British tried to set fire to the towers with red hot balls. This was soon abandoned because of the uncertain aim of the gunners in the dark and the difficulty of setting the green logs afire.

During this time the Tories were likewise strengthening their fortifications. When Greene attempted to burn the houses in the village with flaming arrows, as had been done at Fort Motte, Cruger had the roofs torn off.[9]

Besides the towers, one of which was only thirty yards from the enemy's ditch, the besiegers had several batteries within a hundred forty yards of the fortifications. One of the batteries so completely commanded the star fort that the defenders were compelled to conceal themselves behind sand bags. For ten days besiegers and besieged watched each other, and during that time not a man showed his head on either side without being fired on.[10]

Colonel Lee arrived from Augusta on the morning of June 8 and Greene ordered him to begin approaches against the fort on the enemy's left. Lee's ditch was soon finished, his battery mounted with a six-pounder, and his advance under cover rapidly made. Cruger, however, still continued his nightly sorties, striving to gain possession of the trenches and destroy with the spade what he gained by the bayonet. But Greene was equally alert and foiled his attempts.

A few days after Lee's arrival, General Pickens rode to Greene's headquarters.[11] He was heartily welcomed by General Greene, who in his general orders had expressed the high regard he had for Pickens' "merit and service," and publicly thanked him for the zeal and vigor exhibited in the successful siege of Augusta.[12] Greene then ordered him to join Lee in operations against the stockade that guarded the spring.[13] Pickens and Lee lost no time in completing the ditch and erecting a battery. Two days later Lieutenant Finn was put in charge of it.[14]

Greene, realizing his mistake in not cutting off the enemy's water supply as the siege began, immediately gave Lee permission to set the stockade on fire. Taking advantage of a severe storm on the 12th, Lee sent a sergeant and nine infantrymen by a concealed route to the fort. As a subterfuge, all the batteries opened fire on the star-redoubt. The little party made their way through the storm and the thunder of cannon, and were in the act of applying the torch when they were discovered. The sergeant and five men were killed, while the other four ran through a shower of musket balls and managed to get back to their command.

Those were not the only losses. One day as Joseph Pickens stood at the edge of the woods four hundred yards from the fort, a Tory neighbor named McGuire, who had recently joined Cruger, recognized him. Having a rifle with a longer range than the average small arms of the Tories, McGuire put the gun to his shoulder and said, "Yonder is Captain Pickens and by God I'm going to kill him!" The sound of the shot rang out above the lesser noises, and Joseph fell wounded. At first it was thought that the wound was not serious, but ten days later, "bleeding inwardly," he died.[15] The death of Joseph was a blow to Pickens. Not only had they been close as brothers, but often during Andrew's absence Joseph had looked after his farm and family.

As the days passed and Cruger was still unable to communicate with the outside, he began to realize the peril of his position. His only hope was for aid from Lord Rawdon. But despite his position, when General Greene sent in a flag asking him to surrender, he sent back word that he was determined to hold the place to the last extremity, and that he held in complete disregard the threats and promises of the American general.[16]

On June 11, Sumter had written to Greene that on the 3rd portions of three British regiments, a detachment of the Guards, and a considerable number of volunteers, under the command of Colonel Gould, had landed in Charleston.[17] These forces, originally intended for Cornwallis, were assigned to Lord Rawdon, who, having heard of Cruger's plight at Ninety Six, was hastening with twenty-five hundred men to his relief.

As soon as Greene got word of Rawdon's advance, he ordered Marion, who was in the Low Country, to be on the alert and rejoin Sumter should it become apparent that Rawdon intended marching to Ninety Six.[18] On the 15th he wrote to Sumter, "I cannot persuade myself that the enemy meant to pay a visit to the place Ninety Six. If they attempt it, and we can collect our forces, it may prove difficult for them to get forward or backward. Keep in front of the enemy that we may have an opportunity to fight them with our collective strength."[19]

In the meantime, the Tories on the outside, knowing that Cruger was not aware of Rawdon's advance and fearing that he would surrender before the reinforcements arrived, contrived to notify him of Rawdon's approach. The daughter of a Patriot who had recently married a British officer lived near Ninety Six. She was finally persuaded to get word to Cruger that help was on the way. She got in touch with a young Loyalist neighbor, and on the afternoon of June 13, he went to the Patriot camp. Riding along the lines, he talked disarmingly to the troops as he worked his way nearer the British position. No particular attention was paid him, since it was not unusual for the country people to visit the camp. When he reached the road that led to the village, he spurred his horse and dashed through the lines into the fort. The surprised guards fired at him, but failed to hit him. As he reached safety the young man pulled a letter from his pocket, waved it at the disgruntled Patriots, and went to Cruger's headquarters with the tidings that Rawdon was on his way.[20]

Three days later Greene wrote Sumter that according to a report received from Marion the British reinforcements were much greater than he had expected, and it was possible that Rawdon meant to raise the siege at Ninety Six. He urged Sumter to find out what troops were on the expedition, the names of the corps, and the commanding officers.[21]

Later in the day Greene received another report from Sumter to which he immediately replied that he could only repeat his previous wishes to have the militia constantly gall the enemy's advance. "Where can the enemy," he asked, "have collected such a large cavalry?"

Greene had become thoroughly alarmed. He sent General Pickens with his militia and Colonel Washington's cavalry to Sumter with orders for him to keep in advance of

Rawdon's front and check his advance.[22] Greene told Sumter it would take several days to reduce the post, but unless Rawdon were stopped it would be impossible to succeed.[23]

Determined to end the siege, the Patriots kept up their barrage and finally the British were forced to pull back their forces stationed between the spring and the stockade. The garrison suffered from lack of water until the women in the camp started going to the spring to supply the troops with water. They were not molested until it was discovered that some of the "women" were soldiers masquerading; then the Patriot commander gave the order to fire on everyone who tried to run the gauntlet.[24]

But already victory had been lost. Cruger's stand had neutralized Greene's entire army for weeks. Marion failed to return from the Georgetown expedition in time to rejoin Sumter; and Sumter was slow in acting to check Rawdon. All these factors contributed to the failure of the Americans to capture Ninety Six.

Realizing it was impossible to stop Rawdon, Greene had to decide between an all-out assault on the fort or retreat.[25] At first he considered raising the siege and retiring to a safe place, but the men and officers objected. Some were anxious to wipe out old stains; others wanted to give an exhibition of their skill and prowess; while many, rendered reckless by the cruelties and suffering inflicted by the enemy, longed for an opportunity to satiate their vengeance.[26] But it was clear to all that the fort must be taken by assault or abandoned without further delay. Rawdon was getting too close to wait longer.[27]

Therefore orders were issued to prepare for storming the fort at noon on June 18; the signal for general assault was to be given by the center battery. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of the 1st Virginia regiment, with a detachment from the Maryland and Virginia brigades on the left; and Lieutenant Colonel Lee with the Legion Infantry, and Captain Kirkwood with the Delaware regiment, on the right. Lieutenant Duval with a company of Maryland troops and Lieutenant Selden with another company of Virginians "led the forlorn hope of Campbell"; while Major Rudolph led the Legion against the stockade front. Fascines to fill in the ditches and hooked poles to pull the sand bags from the parapets were made ready for the attack.[28]

At eleven o'clock, the third parallel was manned and sharpshooters took their stations in the tower. When the first signal was given, the troops entered the trenches. At twelve o'clock when the second cannon was fired from the center battery, Campbell and Lee rushed to the assault.

Cruger, whether or not he expected the assault, was prepared for it. The enemy parapets gleamed with pikes and bayonets, and through the openings between the sand bags the riflemen mowed down the advancing assailants. Placing three cannon on an intermediate battery, Cruger directed them first on the column led by Campbell, then on Lee's men. The Virginians and Marylanders unfaltering pressed forward in the face of the fire, and with their hooks pulled the sand bags from the parapets into the ditch below.

Green, who commanded the star-redoubt, anticipating such a move and fearing a hand-to-hand combat on the parapet, sent out small detachments under Captain French of DeLancey's Corps and Captain Campbell of New Jersey, through a sally port. Taking opposite directions in the ditch, the Tories immediately fell upon the Patriots under Duval and Selden. With bayonet clashing against bayonet, two-thirds of the Patriots were either killed or wounded, the latter including Duval and Selden. The rest of the survivors escaped to the trenches where Lieutenant Colonel Campbell remained.

On the right, the column under Lee fared better. Gaining the ditch which surrounded the fort, Captain Rudolph's column soon opened the way into the fort, forcing the garrison stationed there to flee to the main works. Lee was preparing to follow up this advantage and charge the fortified jail when General Greene decided the cost of reducing the place would be a sacrifice he could ill afford and called off the assailants. Greene then sent word to Campbell to withdraw. The men remained where they were until dark, then fell back to their lines.

The next day Greene reluctantly decided to abandon the siege, and on the night of June 19 he moved across the Saluda River after ordering Pickens to assure the inhabitants that he had every intention of maintaining his footing within the state. Furthermore, he was persuaded to believe that if the "well affected" exerted themselves and the activity of the militia equalled his expectations the enemy would not long remain in that quarter.[29] Thus the siege that had promised so much and gained so little was lifted.

In the meantime Pickens learned that Lord Rawdon had succeeded in getting between Sumter and Greene and had returned to the vicinity of Ninety Six to rejoin the attack. Some years later he wrote Lee that the failure of Sumter and Marion to harass Lord Rawdon on his march from Charleston to Ninety Six was inexcusable: "They had a number of men in the Low Country and knew every defile on the way,—and I believe not the least attempt was made by them; the night the siege was raised at Ninety Six, I asked General Greene if he knew the reason of their not harassing the enemy or their not joining the army. He was much irritated, and expressed himself in a manner I had not heard from him before or since."[30]

When it became apparent that Greene must retreat from Ninety Six, a number of families came to the American camp prepared to follow the retreating army, rather than once more be at the mercy of the British and Tories. Among them were Pickens' wife and children. Some of the men complained that Pickens wanted to leave their families for Bill Cunningham to butcher, but was careful to remove his own from danger.[31]

When Pickens arrived at Greene's headquarters and heard the accusations, he went immediately to the refugee camp to urge Becky to return home.[32] She quietly brushed her hair from her dust-streaked face, looked at him, and agreed to go home. He helped her into the wagon and told Pompey,[33] the servant, to take Mrs. Pickens and the children back to the blockhouse. For a moment he watched them go, then mounted his horse and rode swiftly back to rejoin his troops.[34]

When other families saw the Pickens wagon leave the camp, many turned and followed.[35] To their questions Becky had but one reply: somebody had to look after the plantations. If the women failed, who would feed the army?

Staying a crying child's voice with a gentle hand, she held her head high; but her eyes looked beyond the border of the dust-fringed weeds beside the road. Joseph was dead and Andrew was retreating. Beyond, perhaps they were waiting, ready to strike him down. When Andrew had first gone to war, the once gay Joseph had helped her on the plantation. Now that he was gone, to whom would she turn when Andrew was away? But Becky had faced hardships before. Squaring her shoulders, she set her face toward home, knowing that it was on the women that the burdens of family and farm had to fall while the men fought for the liberties of those homes and the right to enjoy them.

CHAPTER IX

The Retreat and the Expedition Of the Dog Days

BAFFLED, IF NOT BEATEN, General Greene retreated from Ninety Six. Regulating his movements by those of the enemy, he hoped to stay a safe distance from the foe, near enough to improve any advantage that might arise. After crossing the Bush River twenty-two miles from the British garrison, he halted on Indian Creek until he could learn the whereabouts of the enemy. On the morning of June 23, he received word that Lord Rawdon had entered Ninety Six two days before, but that same morning had crossed the Saluda at Island Ford in pursuit of the American army.[1]

As soon as Greene read the report, he sent a dispatch to Pickens, who, acting as a screen for the wagons, had remained near Ninety Six. Informing him of Rawdon's advance, Greene told him to collect all the men he could and join him at Fishdam Ford on Broad River and send the wagons under guard to the same place.

Greene crossed the Enoree, Tyger, and Broad rivers, and halted at Tim's Ordinary above Winnsboro, eleven miles beyond Lyle's Ford on the Broad, not far from the Fishdam Ford. On June 30, Pickens, who had not heard from Greene since the 23rd, stopped at Grindall's Shoals and sent a messenger to find him. Pickens told Greene that he was en route to join him with some four to five hundred men; also he had had to leave the wagons behind, but not the horses. Pickens had left Colonel Anderson's regiment to harass the enemy around Ninety Six, as he had learned that Lord Rawdon had abandoned the pursuit of Greene and returned to Ninety Six.[2]

By the time Pickens' messenger arrived at headquarters, Greene had received even later information concerning the British. Rawdon, with eight hundred infantry and sixty cavalry left Ninety Six and was moving toward the Congaree to form a junction with Colonel Alexander Stuart, who was coming up from Charleston. Determined to strike Rawdon before Stuart could reach him, Greene broke camp and arrived at Winnsboro on July 3.[3] From there he continued toward the coast.

Meanwhile, Pickens had been ordered to follow movements of the enemy, and he reached Colonel Taylor's plantation—the present site of Columbia[4]—on July 6. He immediately notified Greene that he had sent a small party of scouts to the neighborhood of Ninety Six to learn the movements and intentions of the enemy, and he urged Colonel Clark to act with the scouts on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River. "Our horses," he wrote Greene, "are so much worn down by the long march . . . and the great scarcity of forage . . . that they are entirely unfit to perform the service of discovering the enemy's movements or even to get out of their way should they prove too powerful for us. . . . Therefore I have thought fit to halt in this neighborhood till your pleasure can be known and what you think best to order shall be readily complied with."[5]

The next day Pickens received a report that the Tories at Ninety Six were collecting grain in preparation for evacuating the post. A number of houses had been burned at Long Canes and many families were suffering from hunger and exposure. All the cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs in the surrounding country had been driven into the Tory garrison. It was also reported that the Tory families were to move "lower down the country" while Cruger, with his eight or nine hundred troops, was there to assist them.[6]

After spending several days on the Taylor plantation, Pickens moved his camp to Bear Creek, between the Broad and the Saluda, to a German settlement which was predominantly Tory. On the night of July 10, Captain Joseph Towles, who had commanded one of the scouting parties, came and reported to Pickens. A man whom he had sent into the British garrison to get information had left that post at one o'clock the day before. At that time the wagons were loaded with baggage and the horses were "geared," ready to leave the following morning. All the families who expected British protection were required to move below Orangeburg or they would be considered as enemies and treated as such. Wishing to verify the report, the scout had gone to Colonel Cruger and asked him what he should do with his family. Cruger told him that all who "intended to hold themselves true subjects to his Majesty" must move below Orangeburg for they had decided to leave all the area above there in ashes. He then asked about the roads. Which one had the most forage or was the "best watered," the ridge road or the one down by Little Saluda to the Juniper?[7] The scout told him that he believed there was no forage on either, but he would find more water on the Little Saluda route. Before he left Ninety Six, the scout said he heard that part of the Tory families were to meet the army near Saluda Old Town, and others would join them farther down on the Saluda.[7]

As soon as Towles had finished his report, Pickens dispatched a messenger to Greene's camp near Orangeburg with the intelligence of Cruger's advance. He told him when he heard from the other scouts who were in that vicinity he would let him know. Meanwhile, he would do all in his power to harass the enemy on the march; but his horses were so depleted by the lack of forage and the heat, he feared he would not be very successful.[7]

Cruger, in order to use the eastern branch to protect his convoy from Pickens' troops, marched to Orangeburg by the route between the Great Forks of the Edisto River.[8] Although encumbered by a caravan of old men, women, and children laden with household goods, Cruger made astonishing progress. The fear of being left behind hastened the refugees on their way. Traveling by night, they avoided the midday heat. When the caravan crossed the North Fork of the Edisto, Cruger, knowing that the stream was impassible for some distance, destroyed the bridge and proceeded on his march with a greater feeling of security.[8] Pickens' force, however, was too exhausted to catch up with him.[9] Thus Cruger and the Tory refugees escaped Pickens, who in spite of his exertions was unable to retard their march.[10]

As soon as Cruger reached a point where he considered it safe to leave his charges, he left them in the protection of their own men with instructions to continue their journey down the southwest side of the Edisto in order to keep the river between them and Pickens. Then he proceeded on his way to rejoin Lord Rawdon, who had been reinforced by Colonel Stuart and was encamped at Orangeburg.[10]

On July 10, General Greene, having been joined by Sumter, moved to within four miles of Orangeburg and offered the enemy battle. Green's force numbered about two thousand while the British force was estimated to be around fifteen hundred men. Knowing that Cruger was approaching, Rawdon did not accept the challenge. Instead he took possession of the courthouse, a strong two-story brick building, and some other buildings in Orangeburg which would secure his retreat over the bridge in case of necessity.[11]

Knowing that if an attack was to be made on Lord Rawdon it must be done before Cruger arrived, Greene reconnoitred the position in person and reluctantly concluded that an attack was unwise. Therefore, on the night of the 13th, he moved with his infantry across the Congaree and retired to the High Hills of the Santee, where he hoped to improve the health and spirits of his men.[12]

Shortly after his arrival, Greene received a letter from Pickens telling him that Cruger had formed a junction with Lord Rawdon on the evening of the 13th.[13] Greene immediately dispatched a message to Pickens, who was still in the vicinity of Orangeburg. He told him he had learned that many of the inhabitants in Ninety Six District had been reduced to "begging and want from the late ravages of the enemy." Relying upon Pickens' prudence, Greene instructed him to appoint some person or persons to take from those with plenty and give to those in need. A strict account, however, should be kept of the transfers in order that the matter could eventually be adjusted by the government.[14]

In a second letter dated the same day, Greene wrote Pickens to proceed with his troops to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree when he could do no further injury to Cruger. Although aware of the difficulties and the suffering of the militia, he felt that it was vital for them to expel the enemy from the Up Country, and bring relief and security to their homes.[14] Upon receipt of Greene's letter, Pickens sent word to colonels LeRoy Hammond and Samuel Hammond to meet him on Thursday, July 21, on the Saluda River at Perkins' Mill "with the whole of your regiment properly mounted and horses in good order."[15]

After Greene had dispatched the order to Pickens, he called the militia and state troops under Sumter and Marion together. Greene agreed to permit Sumter to lead an expedition against the posts in Rawdon's rear and in the neighborhood of Charleston, while his own troops, many of whom were sick, recuperated in camp.[16]

Thus the famous raid of the Dog Days got under way. Sumter commanded the expedition of eleven hundred men but Marion, Lee, the two Hamptons, Taylor, Horry, Maham, and Lacy all took part in it, while Pickens, in command of Henderson's state troops, continued throughout the intense heat of the latter part of July and August to cover the country between Friday's Ferry and the Orangeburg garrison in order to prevent Rawdon from receiving reinforcements and supplies.[17]

The leaders sought to carry out the instructions of their commander-in-chief, but on July 22 General Greene wrote Pickens that the expedition had not come up to his expectations. "Had not General Sumter," he said, "detached his force too much, and had he not mistaken a covering party for an advance of an attack, he would have taken the garrison at Moncks Corner. . . ."[18]

Despite Greene's complaint, Sumter's incursion into the Low Country caused Lord Rawdon to leave Stuart at Orangeburg and go to Charleston. After numerous extreme acts, including the execution of Colonel Isaac Hayne, he sailed for England.[19]

In the meantime, Stuart moved from Orangeburg to the south side of the Congaree, near its junction with the Wateree. Here his troops and Greene's were only fifteen miles apart though two rivers and several swamps separated them. However, both regular armies were suffering from the excessive heat and had abandoned hostilities for the time being.[19]

The partisan corps had done an effective service. Pickens' troops patroled the area between Ninety Six and Orangeburg; Colonel Washington had captured two groups of the enemy's cavalry in the district, near the lower Santee; Lee had penetrated between the main body of the British army and the post at Orangeburg and had captured several British detachments within sight of the post; and Marion, Maham, and Harden had covered the Low Country beyond the Edisto.[20]

Apparently forgetting his previous criticism, Greene declared that the cavalry in the expedition was unexcelled by any in the world, and in guerrilla warfare had proved superior to that of the enemy. Colonel Stuart's communication and supply lines from the interior had been disrupted. His only source of provisions was Charleston, and each day that route became more dangerous. For every wagonload of food, it was said he paid the price in blood.[20]

Greene broke camp in the High Hills of the Santee sooner than he had planned to. He received a letter from Washington informing him that Admiral De Grasse and the second division of the French Fleet had sailed from Camp Francois on August 3, but had to be in the West Indies by the middle of October. Since there was not enough time for operations against New York, Washington decided to lead an expedition into Virginia against Lord Cornwallis, leaving General Heath in command of the Americans in New York. It was his belief that as soon as Cornwallis found himself cut off from Sir Henry Clinton's forces by the French fleet he would attempt to escape by marching to Charleston. Lafayette, General Washington said, had been ordered to prevent this move.[21]

As soon as Greene read the letter from his commander-in-chief, he determined to resume offensive operations in order to prevent any assistance from that quarter. Therefore, on August 22 he ordered a general rendezvous at Friday's Ferry. Beset by heavy rains that were flooding the rivers and lowlands, he crossed the Wateree near Camden, then the Congaree, and, moving along its southern bank, reached Howell's Ferry, where he had planned to recross the river and advance on Colonel Stuart. Stuart, however, had learned Greene's plans and retreated to Eutaw Springs where he had reinforcements.[22]

Unable to bring Stuart to action, Greene ordered Lee to watch his movements. Pickens was ordered to observe the British at Orangeburg. Greene moved toward the old post at Motte's where he learned that Stuart was still at Eutaw Springs. Then he continued cautiously to Mepkin, Henry Laurens' place seventeen miles above the enemy, where he found Marion awaiting him. In the meantime, Pickens, in command of Sumter's troops as well as his own, had left the vicinity of Orangeburg and on the evening of September 4 arrived at Fitzpatrick's plantation, two miles from Brown's Mill. The following morning he reported his position to General Greene, who immediately ordered him to form a junction with the army encamped at Halfway Swamp.[24]

Greene, determined to crush the British in the state, in order to be free to intercept Cornwallis if he attempted to return to South Carolina, gathered his forces for an assault on the British at Eutaw Springs.[25] With the exception of Sumter and Huger, all the great leaders of the war in the South were present: Pickens, the hero of Cowpens; Washington, the dashing cavalryman; Lee, brilliant and ambitious;[26] Marion, fresh from one of his most effective strikes; and Wade Hampton, rivalling those who had been earlier in the field.[27]

Confident of victory, Greene marched his army to Burdell's Tavern on the Congaree road, within seven miles of Eutaw. All baggage was left under guard at Motte's. Greene wanted his army as unencumbered as possible. That night, September 7, General Greene, his officers and men, lay on the ground with their heads resting on the roots of trees, waiting for dawn.[28]

CHAPTER X

The Battle of Eutaw Springs

AT FOUR O'CLOCK on the morning of September 8, 1781, two thousand Patriots[1] advanced in battle order from their bivouac on Burdell's plantation. State troops and Lee's Legion formed the advance column under Lieutant Colonel Henderson. The North Carolina militia under Colonel Malmedy and the militia of South Carolina under Pickens and Marion followed. Then came the Continentals, or regulars, under General Sumner of North Carolina. Between the columns moved the artillery. In the rear was the cavalry of Washington and Kirkwood.[2]

So quietly had the Americans advanced that they were in striking distance of the enemy before they were discovered. During the night they had captured the only British patrol that had been sent out. Unaware of this, Colonel Stuart, who commanded the British, had dispatched a large "rooting party" of unarmed men at dawn to gather sweet potatoes. A short time later, when two deserters from Greene's army arrived in the British camp and reported the Americans in the vicinity, Stuart sent a detachment of two hundred cavalry under Captain Coffin to reconnoitre and recall the "rooting party."

When Greene's advance was within four miles of the British camp, it met Coffin's party. Ignorant of the strength of the Americans, Coffin charged. Captain Raiford, of the North Carolina force, received the brunt of the attack. Pickens and Marion rushed their mounted men to his relief, and the enemy was quickly repulsed.[3] Several of Coffin's men were killed, forty were captured, and the rest fled. Alarmed at the firing, the British "rooting party" tried to return to camp but were captured.[4]

General Greene thought the main body of the enemy had been met. He distributed rum and ordered the troops to form for battle against the remaining forces.[5] Once more the militia formed the first line with Pickens commanding the left, Marion the right, and Malmedy the center. Colonel

Henderson and the state troops covered the left of the line, and Colonel Lee and his legion, the right.

Backing up the first line was the second line composed of the Continentals. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and the Virginians, on the right, were divided into two battalions under Major Sneed and Captain Edmunds; Brigadier Sumner, with the North Carolina troops, commanded the center; and on the left were the Maryland troops under Williams and Howard. Captain Gaines moved two three-pounders up in the center with the first line; while Captain Browne, with two six-pounders, occupied a similar position in the second line. Baylor's cavalry and Kirkwood's Delaware infantry composed the reserve led by Colonel Washington, who moved in the rear with orders to keep under cover of the woods and hold his men in reserve.[6]

Thus formed, the American army marched forward slowly. On both sides of the road were woods which occasionally broke their line, but presented no serious obstacle. When they had reached a point within a mile of the enemy's camp, they met a strong detachment of British infantry. The Americans quickly attacked and drove the British back to their line, which Stuart had meanwhile drawn up for battle about two hundred rods west of Eutaw Springs.[7]

In a single line, the British force of about twenty-three hundred had two bodies of infantry with cavalry posted in the rear. The right, composed of the third regiment and known as the "Buffs," backed up to Eutaw Creek; the rest of Cruger's green-coated Tories were in the center; while the veterans of the 63rd and 64th regiments commanded the left and extended across the Charleston road. On the Eutaw branch, which ran to the British encampment and to the right of the Charleston road, were three hundred choice light-infantrymen under Major Majoribanks. Posted in the thickets bordering the creek, they covered the right with orders to watch the American flanks and come in should an opportunity for attack present itself. Distributed along the line was the artillery and a corps of reserves, consisting of a detachment of infantry; while Coffin's cavalry was posted, under cover of the woods, in a position to support the left and command the Charleston road.[8]

In a cleared field a few hundred yards behind the line, were the tents of the British camp. On the northern boundary of the field, a high-banked creek, thickly bordered with undergrowth, flowed from the spring. Near this was a strongly built, two-story brick house with a garden enclosed by a palisade extending to the creek. Southeast of the house were the usual outbuildings, stables, and barn. At the first indication of impending defeat, Stuart ordered Major Sheridan to occupy the house and cover the army in the open field from the upstairs windows.[9]

Meanwhile the American front line, under the command of Pickens, Marion, and Malmedy, advancing with loud shouts found itself engaged with the entire British line. On both sides, the steady roar of the artillery was deafening. Tree limbs fell to the ground as the trees shook from the shot in the trunks. On the ground, shells ripped into the ranks of the soldiers, leaving gaping wounds and mangled bodies. But there was no time to lend a helping hand to a fallen comrade as the first line, led by Pickens and Marion, unfalteringly faced the British regulars and proved themselves soldiers equal to the best veterans.[10]

Later, it was said that both the Continental line and the British were astonished to see those men advance steadily in the face of the enemy, undaunted by the loss of their comrades around them. And still later, in a letter to Steuben, Greene said, "Such conduct would have graced the veterans of the great king of Prussia."[11]

Why there was surprise at the conduct of the men led by Pickens and Marion is difficult to understand. For more than a year, the South Carolina militia had followed Pickens on more battlefields than fortune had—or misfortune—permitted their Continental brothers-in-arms to enter. For them "there could have been no apprehension because of inexperience, but this was not the case of the North Carolinians."[12]

The North Carolina troops had just been raised and instead of being led by one of their own men, they were under Malmedy. He was not only a foreign officer, but had aroused a great deal of ill feeling by abandoning his post during the siege of Charleston. So it was not surprising that when the veterans of the 63rd and 64th British regiments charged with their bayonets, the North Carolina troops in the center yielded.

As soon as Pickens and Marion saw what was happening, they tried to stem the retreat until Malmedy could rally his troops. The heat was intense and the smoke hung like a pall over the soldiers fighting under the trees. With grim faces streaked with sweat and blood, they tried to hold the line; but after a fierce struggle, Pickens and Marion were forced to fall back. Taking advantage of the break, the British 63rd regiment, on the left, forced Henderson and Lee to give ground.

When Greene saw the line waver, he immediately ordered the center of the second line, under Brigadier Sumner, forward to relieve the militia and to support Henderson and the Legion infantry. The reinforced Americans rallied and succeeded in pushing the enemy back to its former position. As soon as Stuart saw the turn of affairs, he called up the corps of infantry, posted in the rear of his left wing, and directed Major Coffin's cavalry to take the post on his left. At this point Colonel Henderson was wounded and Colonel Hampton took command of his troops. While the command was being shifted, the state troops became momentarily disordered, but they soon recovered and charged, taking a hundred prisoners. For a time the fighting was severe on both sides, and the "fire became mutually destructive."[13]

Determined to strike a decisive blow, General Greene brought up the Maryland and Virginia troops. Thus reinforced, the Patriot line pressed forward with a shout, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The enemy, feeling the full weight of the American army, returned the shout and sustained themselves nobly from right to left. But, holding the line, the Americans made a spirited charge and routed the British troops on the left.

As the enemy officers tried to rally their men, Colonel Washington brought up his reserves and prevented their efforts to re-form. However, the center and right of the British line, outnumbering the Americans, awaited the charge with steadiness. But the disorder and the flight of the left had had its effect upon them, and the pressure of those who were retreating soon imparted a portion of their panic to the other division. Fortunately for the Americans, the advance of the Marylanders at this moment added to the confusion, and when they delivered their fire with telling effect, the enemy yielded along the entire front.

Confident that the victory was theirs, the Americans chased the enemy back through the open fields and tried to cut them off from the brick house. But, at this point, Major Majoribanks poured a harassing fire into the Americans from the cover of the thickets bordering the creek. General

Greene ordered Colonel Washington to push in between the detachment and the creek and turn Majoribanks' right.[14]

Without waiting for Hampton, who had been ordered to cooperate with him, Washington hastened to obey the order. But as he drew near the enemy position, his cavalry became entangled in a blackjack thicket. Separated as they were by the trees, it was impossible to charge and each man found himself faced with the necessity of defending himself alone against the whole corps of infantry. Realizing it was impossible to charge Majoribanks' front, Washington swung to the left in an effort to get between the enemy and the creek. In so doing he exposed his flank to the British fire. All of the officers except two were wounded, and Washington himself, receiving a bayonet wound, would have been killed had it not been for the timely intervention of a British officer who took him prisoner.

The survivors of Washington's command rallied under Lieutenant Gordon and Cornet Simons, joined Hampton, and were once more making an unsuccessful charge on Majoribanks when Kirkwood's Delawares appeared on the scene. Pushing forward with fixed bayonets, they succeeded in driving the British from their position. But Majoribanks, still holding on to the thickets, retired slowly to a position behind the palisades of the garden.

Meanwhile, General Pickens had been severely wounded. Shot from his horse, he was picked up for dead by his soldiers and carried behind the lines. There it was found that his life had been miraculously saved—the musket ball which hit him in the chest had struck and been deflected by his sword buckle, but the buckle was driven into his breast bone.[15]

Back at the battle front, Majoribanks had gained the palisades, while Major Sheridan of New York had thrown his troops against the brick house; and some of the routed companies from the British left had retreated into the garden where they could fire through the openings in the picket fence.[16]

The remaining British took flight through their own encampment and beyond. But there was no pursuit. Following close behind them, the famished Americans entered the camp where food, clothing, and drink were scattered in confusion. Believing that victory was assured, the exhausted and half-starved soldiers who had broken the British line fell upon the sorely needed supplies. Officers' orders fell on deaf ears as the men gorged on salt beef and rum—discipline was forgotten. Practically abandoned by the troops as they tried to restore order in the ranks, the officers were conspicuous targets for the British marksmen in the brick house and in the garden.

Majoribanks and Coffin, surveying the situation, moved simultaneously toward the tents. Although unaware of the condition of his infantry, Greene saw the movement and dispatched Captain Pendleton with orders for Lee to check Coffin's advance. When Pendleton finally got to the Legion, Lee was not there, so he delivered the order to Major Eggleston, the next in command, who attacked Coffin without success.[17]

When Pendleton returned and reported that Lee was not with the cavalry and that he had delivered the order to Major Eggleston, General Greene was deeply disappointed.[18] When he learned of the insurbordination in the front ranks, he realized the extent of the misfortune that had befallen him and ordered a retreat.[19]

Coffin, however, was not ready to allow Greene to retire. He quickly charged the rear of the Americans who still lingered among the tents. Fortunately Hampton, who had been ordered to cover the retreat, was on hand and attacked Coffin. After a severe fight, the British cavalry was driven back into the woods.[19]

A moment later, the command of Colonel Hampton was almost wiped out by the fire from Majoribanks' men who were still concealed in the garden. As soon as Hampton's cavalry had scattered, Majoribanks sallied into the field and seized the two six-pounders which the Americans had captured earlier in the day. Then, reinforced by parties from the brick house and garden, he charged the Americans in the tents and drove them before him, bayoneting some who were still clinging to the rum-casks. They fled into the woods where the American army had rallied. But the British, too crippled to venture beyond the shelter of the house and outbuildings, did not press the fight.

Left in possession of the battlefield, General Greene posted a strong guard. Then, with the rest of the army, he withdrew to his encampment of the night before at Burdell's Tavern.

Losses on both sides were heavy. Five hundred fifty-four Patriots were killed, wounded, or missing, including sixty-one officers.[20] Among the dead was Colonel Campbell of Virginia, who fell as he was leading a charge.[21] Lieutenant Simons was also among the slain. General Pickens, colonels Washington, Howard, Henderson, and Hugh Horry were among the sixty-one who were wounded; twenty-one died on the field.

Six hundred eighty-three British were killed, wounded, or missing.[22] Colonel Alexander Stuart was wounded, and Major Majoribanks succumbed to his wounds on the march to Charleston. Thus ended the bloody Battle of Eutaw Springs in which both sides claimed victory.[23]

Even though tactically General Greene and the Americans were repulsed, this battle just about ended the British occupation of South Carolina outside of Charleston. In the face of this hard-won evacuation, the American army was tottering. General Greene wrote to the Secretary of War:

> We have 300 men without arms, and more than 1000 so naked that they cannot be put on duty only in case of a desperate nature. . . . Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the painful anxieties. I have more embarrassments than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes. . . .
>
> The brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw were galled by their cartridge boxes, while a folded rag or tuft of moss protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the muskets. Men of other times will inquire by what magic was the army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight.[24]

CHAPTER XI

Tories and Indians

AFTER THE BATTLE of Eutaw Springs, General Pickens remained at Burdell's plantation to recover from the wound that was to give him trouble for the rest of his life.[1] Governor Rutledge came to confer with him about the best method to pursue in treating with the Tory population of the state.[2]

On September 15, the Governor wrote to Marion asking for his opinion on offering free pardon to the Tories. He also wanted to know what he thought about allowing their wives and families to return to their homes.[3] He said that following the "glorious victory of Eutaw" he felt it would be expedient to issue a proclamation concerning them. In closing the letter to Marion, he requested an early reply "for I keep General Pickens only till I hear from you on these points. . . ."

Having already expressed himself in favor of the plan, Pickens was anxious to get away. On July 30, 1781, General Greene had written him, "It is most certainly in our interest to encourage the return of the Tories, and I wish you to give them all the encouragement in your power and afford them all the protection you can. But oblige the most notorious to give up their arms, which may be put into the hands of good men."[4] With such instructions, Pickens was ready to cooperate to the fullest. When the Tory families returned to their homes, "they found in him a zealous and benevolent protector," but one who tolerated no misdemeanor on their part.[5]

While Pickens was recuperating, Greene had moved back to his "camp of repose" in the High Hills of Santee. With him went the ragged militia, weary continentals, and six hundred sick or wounded, half of whom were prisoners. The militiamen returned to their homes in a short time, and a hundred of the North Carolinians were ready to leave since their terms of enlistment had almost expired. Greene was to be left with a handful of Continentals to care for the casualties and to wonder where additional fighting men could be found.[6]

Detachments of South Carolina militia under Pickens, Marion, and Hampton were ordered to cover the country as best they could. The British force at that time was larger than Greene's, but not for long. Colonels Shelby and Sevier, with five hundred riflemen from what was to be Tennessee and a hundred sixty infantry from North Carolina joined Greene on the Santee; the artillery destroyed at Eutaw Springs was replaced from Virginia; and the cavalry was greatly augmented.[6]

Back at home, Andrew Pickens still suffered from his wound, but he enjoyed a brief respite with his family. He was soon ordered to Dorchester to replace Marion, who had been sent to Georgetown. There he received word that "Bloody Bill Cunningham,"[7] who had taken a fiendish delight in carrying out Cornwallis' orders to hang the American Patriots, was again raiding the Up Country.[8] Pickens immediately dispatched Captain Sterling Turner against him.[9]

Turner overtook a party of Tories at Tarra's Spring, in what is now Lexington County. A number of horses and cattle were recaptured. On the return trip, Turner and his party of thirty unfortunately failed to post a guard. When they were surprised by a party of Tories, they took refuge in an unfinished log house, but were forced to surrender to the larger force. Thereupon Cunningham ordered all the Patriots put to the sword. Two managed to escape in the fight, and Captain Butler grabbed a pitchfork and defended himself until his right hand was severed by a sabre. The rest of the band were massacred as they stood.[10]

After this encounter, Cunningham and his men went to Hayes' Station, where Colonel Hayes of Pickens' brigade, expecting reinforcements, refused to surrender.[11] He and his party resisted vigorously for several hours; but Cunningham set fire to the house by throwing tow sacks, dipped in pitch and wrapped on ramrods, on the roof. Almost suffocated by the smoke, Hayes and his men stumbled out of the house and surrendered. Cunningham immediately hanged Hayes and another officer, Daniel Williams, on the pole of a fodder stack. When the pole broke under the weight of the strangling men, Cunningham drew his sword and slew them.[12]

When Cunningham learned that Cook, who was charged with being one of three men who had whipped his brother to death, was in the party, he immediately ordered him out from the rest and killed him. He then gave his men permission to do as they pleased with the others. Singling out their victims, the Tories deliberately cut them to pieces.[13]

When Pickens received the report of these atrocities, he sent out another detachment under Hammond and Purvis with orders to get Cunningham and his gang. Pickens followed later.

Closely pursued, the marauders divided their force into smaller groups.[14] Late one evening, a party of about fifty of Cunningham's men were overtaken by Hammond. Instead of attacking the party, Hammond halted and waited for reinforcements. By the next morning, when Pickens arrived, Cunningham had fled. Picking up the trail, Pickens chased the Tories as far as Orangeburg, but he was unable to overtake them. Cunningham's party made good its escape and reached Charleston safely. Another group fled to the mountains with their prisoners, and joined the Indians.[15]

Meanwhile the people around Ninety Six and the Long Canes were again almost starving. Earlier in the summer Pickens had sought to alleviate their suffering by ordering that grain be taken from those who had a surplus and distributed to those in need.[16] He learned that corn could be obtained below Augusta and sent a convoy of wagons under his brother John and a guard of six men with instructions to buy it for the destitute of the district.[17]

Before the convoy reached Augusta, it was attacked and captured by a party of Tories under "Colonel" Hezekiah Williams.[18] The prisoners were taken across the Savannah River and delivered to the Cherokee Indians. When the Indians learned that one of their captives was the brother of General Pickens, there was great rejoicing over the capture of so valuable a prize. A few days later in an elaborate ceremony John Pickens was scalped and burned alive on a pile of lightwood.[19]

During the festivities, Matthew Thompson, one of the prisoners and a brother-in-law of General Robert Anderson, escaped on the Tory colonel's horse and brought back the account of John's death.[20] When Andew Pickens heard the fate that had befallen his brother, he wept like a child.[21]

The worst Tories from the evacuated post at Ninety Six continued to harass and murder the frontier inhabitants, making no distinction between the sexes. Therefore, on December 8, 1781 in a letter to Captain Towles, Pickens directed him to raise a company for the express purpose of protecting the inhabitants under the immediate direction and command of Colonel Samuel Hammond.[22]

Pickens issued orders that no Indian woman, child, old man, or anyone physically unfit to bear arms should be put to death. Should such occur, the perpetrator would answer with his own life.[23] The orders were readily obeyed and the Indians followed the example for awhile.[24]

However, it was not long before the Indians, incited by their allies, were up to their old tricks. The attacks and atrocities had assumed such proportions that Pickens was ordered to put down the uprising.[25] About the same time Colonel Samuel Hammond told him that Cunningham was believed to be with the enemy and in all probability intended to go to the Cherokee Nation. Pickens immediately ordered Colonel Anderson to proceed to Norwood's Mills on the Saluda with the men he could collect and wait there for further intelligence, while he carried out an expedition into the Cherokee country.[26]

Prior to the expedition, Pickens had written General Rutherford of North Carolina, Colonel Arthur Campbell of Virginia, and colonels Sevier and Shelby of Tennessee, informing them of his intentions and requesting their cooperation.[27] They agreed to meet him, and a plan to invade the Indian territory at different points was arranged.[28]

Counting on them Pickens and a hundred fifty horsemen armed with swords and pistols met General Clark of Georgia, who had the same number of men, on the north fork of the Broad River in Georgia.[29] There they waited more than a month to hear from the North Carolina and Tennessee forces. At last unable to wait longer, and with only three days' supply of bread and meat, Pickens made a rapid but cautious march into the Cherokee Nation.[30]

Undermanned and poorly equipped, Pickens came to the Indian towns of Catoogajoy, Quanesse, and Chawee only to find that the Indians had fled, taking with them their corn and other provisions. In the meantime, a heavy snow had started falling. Desperately in need of food, Pickens pushed on to Coosa, hoping to find grain there for the starving horses. Weakened by cold and hunger, many of the animals dropped dead on the way. But when the party arrived in the village, there was not one ear of corn to be found.[31]

After several days' rest, Pickens marched up the Hightower River. At the first of the riverside villages, he sent flanking parties to block any Indians who might try to escape; then he and his men entered the village. Riding among the snow-crusted cabins, they noticed that only one bore signs of habitation. Inside the rude hut a white man and several Indians were found. Realizing the fate that would befall him if captured, the white man made an attempt to jump into the river. He and one of the Indians were shot, and the remainder were taken prisoner.

Among the captives was a half-breed who told General Pickens that reinforcements were expected to arrive that night, but the bad weather detained them.

The following morning, searching parties found about thirty bushels of corn. Pickens remained in the neighborhood two days longer, but unable to find more than forty bushels of corn and four beeves, Pickens called a council of officers. They unanimously agreed that it was impossible to proceed farther, and that through necessity they would be obliged to return to the frontier.

In the expedition, forty Cherokees were killed, a number of prisoners were taken, and thirteen towns were burned, with only two Americans wounded.[32] But Pickens was not satisfied. He had failed to accomplish what he had set out to do.

Major John Cunningham, an officer from Georgia who accompanied Pickens, said it was the most fatiguing experience he had ever had. He attributed the expedition's failure to the bad weather and the fact that the Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee officers, for some unknown reason, had not kept their promise to meet them.[33] Pickens praised his men and said they had performed their duty cheerfully and with less complaint than he had ever before seen displayed.[34]

Instead of being subdued by their losses, the Indians believed that Pickens' withdrawal was due to fear of a general engagement and continued their depredations. Consequently it was not long after the general's return to Long Canes before he learned that Tory, Cherokee, and Creek forces were preparing for another attack.[35]

Pickens immediately ordered Colonel Samuel Hammond to join him once more against the Cherokees. "I wish you to be here," he wrote, "on the 12th inst. with your men prepared for the expedition as before directed, and to prevail on the men whose terms of enlistment are nearly expired to go on the expedition."[36]

Before the orders could be executed, Pickens learned that an attack on Savannah was planned. He did not wait for Hammond, but sent a messenger to Colonel Robert Anderson, who was at Beaver's Dam in Georgia, to march to Freeman's Fort to meet Colonel Elijah Clark on April 1.

The meeting accordingly took place, and the next day, Anderson with three hundred South Carolinians and Clark with a hundred Georgians marched to the Oconee, where they clashed with Colonel Black and one of the enemy parties. In the encounter several Indians were killed and two Tories were captured and hanged for earlier offenses. The rest scattered in confusion when they discovered the strength of the American force. This victory checked the raids that had been planned by the Creeks and Cherokees.[37]

But respite from fighting on the frontier was of short duration. Lawless raids and feuds continued throughout most of the state. Nor did General Pickens attribute all the trouble to the Tories and Indians. He blamed some of it on a group of so-called Whigs, known as "outliers," who had exiled themselves in the mountains and descended occasionally upon the frontier to seek revenge as well as plunder; also, Pickens held others partly responsible, those people who had removed their families to North Carolina or Virginia and had made a practice of carrying off with them everything of value whether it belonged to friend or foe.[38]

No one was spared the horrors of civil strife. Along with their close neighbors, Pickens' wife and children were often forced to flee to the woods and hide in the canebrakes with the Negro slaves until the raiders had gone. But Becky never forgot that she was a soldier's wife, and she bore the hardships with fortitude.[39] With her husband back from the expedition against the Cherokees and the British army far away in the environs of Charleston, she breathed easier. Becky Pickens was well aware of the penalty Andrew would pay should he fall into the hands of the enemy.

The news of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781, reached General Greene by the end of the month, but official announcement was not received until November 9. The rest of that day was one of jubilation in the American camp in the High Hills of Santee.[40]

In the other states, the surrender had practically decided the war, but in South Carolina the fighting continued.[41] For nearly three years the British had sought to subjugate the state. But, step by step, the Americans had driven the enemy into Charleston and its immediate vicinity.[42] Finally, on December 7, Greene moved his headquarters to the Sanders' plantation on Round O, situated between the swamp by the same name and the Ashepoo River, about forty or fifty miles southwest of Charleston, thus commanding the communication between that city and Savannah.[43]

Meanwhile, Governor Rutledge was busy organizing a state government.[44] He issued a proclamation for the election of members of a General Assembly under the Constitution of 1778. It was important to recover as much ground as possible so that elections might be held for members of the legislature. Late in the year 1781, Pickens was chosen to serve in the legislature,[45] but when it met on January 18, 1782, in Jacksonborough,[46] he was not present. He was in the Cherokee country fighting the Indians. But Sumter, Marion, the Calhouns, the Hamptons, and others were there to speak for the middle and upper country.[47] At last South Carolina was an independent state, "and from the sea to the mountains her people were more closely united than ever before."

But for Andrew Pickens the war was not over. The Indians were yet to be conquered. During his absence from the legislative chamber, Governor Rutledge, in his message to the legislature, gave General Greene more credit for saving the state than it was felt that he deserved, and touched lightly on the part Pickens, Marion, and Sumter played in wresting their homeland from the enemy. In referring to Pickens, he said the cool and determined bravery displayed by Brigadier General Pickens, and indeed the behavior of many officers and men in every brigade, were unquestionable testimonies of their valor, which would have reflected honor on veteran troops.[48]

Both houses of the Assembly replied to the address. The Senate praised General Greene and ignored the three partisan leaders who had contributed so much to the freedom of the country. The House, in still more extravagant language, continued the praise of Greene and his achievements in the state, but did say, "The Generals Sumpter, Marion, and Pickens, with the brave militia under their commands, those virtuous citizens who did not despair of the commonwealth in her greatest extremity, are deserving of the highest commendation."[49]

Two days later, Sumter asked that a committee be appointed to investigate the accusations that the partisan generals had allowed their troops to take plunder. The matter was taken up and caused a great deal of argument. No formal action was taken, but the legislature expressed its thanks to Marion, Sumter, Huger, and the absent Pickens for their notable service to the state.[50]

But the enemy still held Charleston. General Leslie, who had relieved General Stuart of command, wrote General Greene that he viewed with deep concern the proceedings of the Assembly in passing the acts of amercing the property of some persons and confiscating that of others whose principles had attached them to the cause of Great Britain. Unless the practices were suspended, he threatened to send out an expedition to protect those people from such ruinous measures.[51]

Greene replied that he commanded the forces of the United States in the Southern Department, and had nothing to do with the internal policies of the state. Leslie then protested to Governor Mathews, who had succeeded Rutledge as chief executive of the state.

As a result of the correspondence, General Greene expected a renewal of the enemy attack, not only because of Leslie's threat of retaliation on account of the Confiscation Act, but because he needed supplies. Action, however, was forestalled when General Leslie received word that the House of Commons had passed a resolution relative to making peace with the Americans.[52] He proposed that he be permitted to purchase from the planters such provisions as he needed.[53]

Greene referred the amercement measures to Congress; the matter of supplies he turned over to the governor and council. Realizing that to comply with the British commander's request would drain the surrounding country of food and might prolong the stay of the enemy, the council ordered Greene to use all the means in his power to prevent supplies from going into Charleston. Therefore he rejected Leslie's proposal. Thereupon Leslie notified General Greene that although anxious to discontinue the horrors of war, he would take provisions by force wherever he found them.

And having delivered his ultimatum, he immediately commenced to put it into effect.

To meet the renewal of warfare, Greene reorganized his forces. From his headquarters at Ashley Hall, he sent a dispatch to General Pickens, asking for a return of his men, the state of his arms, the general location of his whole brigade, and the number of men who could join him in four or five days. Three days later, Greene's aide-de-camp sent another message to Pickens, ordering him to put his troops in motion at once and march to headquarters as Greene wished to see him immediately.[54]

Orders to the other generals were issued also. Marion, who had recrossed the Santee, was requested to strengthen his force in order to meet the foe at that quarter. A detachment under General Gist of Maryland was to cover the country lying south and west of the army's position at Bacon's Bridge, at the head of the Ashley River. The cavalry of the Legion and that of the Third Regiment, the Delaware Regiment and a hundred men from the line commanded by Major Beale, and the whole of Colonel Laurens' infantry were placed under the command of General Gist. So once more the two armies, after a brief respite from active combat found themselves facing each other near Charleston.[55]

When General Leslie's foraging expeditions set out, one to Wadboo and another to Combahee, General Greene hoped to divert them by moving down the Ashley Road, feigning a design on James Island; Pickens, at the head of the militia, was ordered between the Ashley and Cooper rivers in an attempt to draw the attention to his post at the Quarter House.[56] The feints did not succeed, but Pickens turned the attention of the enemy from Greene's movements and forced them to retire and return to Charleston.[57]

At last the Tories realized they could no longer hold South Carolina. The nerve-racking strain of occupying enemy territory had begun to tell on the King's men. The partisan soldiers were like a shadow army who seemed to jump at them from every clump of bushes, who destroyed their communications, and, who, when they were supposed to be scattered, mysteriously appeared together. Safe inside the fortifications of Charleston, the Loyalists accepted the fact that there were not enough British soldiers in South Carolina to be everywhere at once.[58]

CHAPTER XII

The Last Expedition Against the Cherokees

ALTHOUGH General Pickens continued to command his own brigade and General Henderson's around Charleston throughout the latter part of July and early August, 1782, the unsettled conditions of the Up Country compelled him to return to Ninety Six District about the middle of August. An influx of "outliers" had descended upon the country and were causing great alarm and confusion among the inhabitants.[1] Danger from Indians also threatened.

Before leaving the Low Country Pickens ordered Captain William Butler to raise a company of twenty-five men to serve for six months to end the activities of the raiders. Such men he said were "lost to every sense of justice or principle of honesty or humanity, and make it their sole study to ruin and distress, by every means in their power, every man who shows the least attachment to honesty, regular order, and civil government."[2]

He insisted that Butler keep an exact account of all articles impressed, the name of the person from whom they were obtained, the appraisal of horses and saddles, and the quantity and quality of provisions and forage. This was to facilitate accounting by the legislature. Pickens also warned Butler to be careful not to distress any of the "good citizens." Nor should any property be confiscated, unless taken in the field from men in arms against the state; in that case it would become the property of the captors unless it previously belonged to "good citizens" of the state. Then the property in question should be returned to the rightful owner. Furthermore, Pickens said, the company would be governed by the same rules that governed the state troops; the pay would be the same as that received by the militia, but the men would not be called out of the district unless some particular emergency arose, and then only by his orders.[2]

Captain Butler organized the company and executed the orders so effectively that within a short while the disturbances were brought under control. A few weeks later Pickens wrote Greene that the "outliers" who had endeavored to destroy the peace of the district had either been killed or driven out. However, he regretted to say that "a considerable number of the Disaffected, who justly bear infamous characters, are turned to this country."[3]

Though he was successful with the "outliers," Pickens was destined to have more trouble with the Indians. Earlier in the spring, when the British General Clark found his position in Savannah jeopardized by General Anthony Wayne,[4] he had asked the Creeks and Cherokees for assistance. In April when the Indians moved to comply with the requests, General Pickens disrupted their plans by sending Colonel Robert Anderson against them.[5]

The grand council of Indian nations did not sanction continuing an alliance with a country whose power was diminishing, yet a few warriors were determined to keep their promise to England. Therefore, Chief Guvistersigo led three hundred Creeks from the Nation to Savannah. So secretly had they moved that but for an accidental change of camp General Wayne might have been captured. On the 23rd, a sharp engagement took place between the two parties. Guvistersigo with seventeen of his warriors and white guides were left dead on the field. Twelve prisoners were taken and a few hours later were shot on orders from General Wayne.

As a result of the action and the nearness of the American force the British withdrew to Savannah. A number of Tories were unwilling to be so closely confined and thought that they would render the cause a better service by retiring to the Cherokee Nation. At the head of this group was Colonel Thomas Waters. They formed a settlement on the Hightown River at the mouth of Longswamp Creek, where a number of slaves, horses, cattle, and other property which had been taken from the frontier of Georgia and Carolina had been collected.

Meanwhile, General Pickens received a letter from Governor John Martin of Georgia telling him that he had learned from "our good firm and fast friend the Tallassee King" that a body of Cowetas and Cherokees then at Big Shoals planned to attack the frontier. The governor's anxiety and the urgency of the times were reflected in his words, "For God's sake exert yourself and come to our timely aid as delays are dangerous."[6] Pickens replied, "Rest assured, Sir, that every assistance in my power shall be given to your State whenever there is an occasion."[7]

In the light of past experience Pickens thought that the only way to put an end to such threats was to destroy the parties responsible for them. Therefore, despite the "arguments" received from Virginia urging that overtures of peace from the Indians be accepted, Pickens went to headquarters and asked General Greene and Governor Mathews for permission to lead another expedition into the Cherokee Nation.[8]

The request was granted, and Pickens returned to Long Canes to prepare for the campaign. He immediately wrote Governor Martin of his plan to subdue the Cherokees and perhaps the Cowetas. Governor Mathews sent dispatches to the governors of North Carolina and Virginia asking for assistance, for the extent of the undertaking would be determined by the help sent from those states as well as the participation of Governor Martin's own State of Georgia.[9]

Pickens' brigade was ready to march by the middle of August, but he had to wait for the North Carolinians until the middle of September. Colonel Arthur Campbell notified him that the Virginians would not take part.[10]

Knowing the Indians' habits and customs, Pickens declared that he could not expect to accomplish what he might have done a month or six weeks earlier, "for they are a people who only can be brought to measures by fear or necessity." He had hoped to strike before they had time to harvest and hide their corn in the mountains, where they always sought refuge. Determined, however, to upset their plans and reduce them without further delay, on September 6 he sent a dispatch to Colonel Elijah Clark, who had agreed to take part in the expedition, to meet him on the 16th at Cherokee Ford on the Savannah River."[11]

Pickens also sent a message to Captain William Butler to go to the Edisto River and if possible collect twenty-five or thirty good beeves and send them to Cherokee Ford on Monday, the 16th, "I do not mean," he wrote, "to take the men you have engaged to the Nation. . . . I would recommend to you to send spies down the Edisto, and if possible find out where Cunningham keeps, and what his intention is, and if possible drive him from those parts; though I would much rather you could destroy him and his party. I send you six swords you will have care taken of, and when you have done with them, you will have them returned."[12]

On September 10 with three hundred sixteen men and a month's provisions, Pickens crossed into Georgia by way of Cherokee Ford, where he was joined by Clark with ninety-eight Georgians at Long Creek. Robert Anderson was put in immediate charge of the South Carolinians, and Colonel White in charge of the North Carolina militia. During the assembling of troops, Captain Butler's men delivered the cattle. General Pickens sent a letter back by them to Butler warning him to keep spies out to detect any "outliers" who might "attempt coming into or disturbing the peace of the District."[13]

Before breaking camp, Pickens learned that a Tory who had professed to be one of them had disappeared and had no doubt warned the Cherokees of the impending invasion. Since the spy did not know the route he intended to take, Pickens thought the Indians would expect him to take the one he had formerly used. Therefore, on the morning of the 19th, Pickens struck directly across the mountains in a westerly direction toward the Chattahoochee River.[14]

Only a third of the men had swords and there were not more than five or six rounds of ammunition for each man. To some it may have indicated a lack of judgment on Pickens' part to lead such poorly equipped troops against a powerful tribe aided by a band of desperadoes, but Pickens was a daring leader whose success had always depended largely on the element of surprise. Pickens captured two Indian hunters whom he forced to act as guides, a service they faithfully performed. The party marched all night and at daylight fell upon an Indian town, completely surprising the occupants.

Pickens learned from the prisoners that there were several Indian towns within ten or twelve miles and that Colonel Waters' party was about twenty miles beyond. Accordingly he detached Colonel Anderson with a hundred men and an Indian guide to destroy the villages and towns up the river. Colonel White was ordered to go downriver for the same purpose, while he and Colonel Clark marched directly to the attack on Colonel Waters' position. But Waters had received word of Pickens' approach and had escaped with his men.

A few Indians were killed and a number of prisoners were taken. Anderson and White, having killed eight Indians and destroyed a number of towns, rejoined Pickens that afternoon.[15]

On the third day, Pickens approached the town of Saiita, on the bank of a creek which emptied into the Oconee River. At sundown, when they were within half a mile of the town and still undiscovered, he gave orders to his men to dismount, refresh themselves, and feed the horses from the scanty supply of corn. He then told the men to sit each with his back to a tree and to hold his horse by the bridle, but warned them to stay awake or their horses might escape. The night was cold, but they dared not build a fire. At daylight the troops were ordered to mount. Quietly, the officers delivered Pickens' orders: "Advance with drawn swords; do not use the pistols unless it becomes necessary; kill only those who have the appearance of warriors, but spare the old men, squaws, and children."[16]

Through the early dawn the troops approached the sleeping village, and while still in the shelter of the woods the company divided. Pickens led one division to the upper part of the town, while Clark went to the lower side with the understanding that they would attack simultaneously and meet in the center of the town.

As the two divisions attacked the town, the sun rose and glittered upon their raised swords. The surprised Indians ran in every direction. Some went back into their huts for guns, while others, endeavoring to reach the woods, were ridden down by the charging soldiers.

Divided into squads, the troops pursued the fleeing warriors, cutting them down with their swords.[17]

If one blow failed, a second, or a third from another man completed the job. One William Green, a large and powerful man, had a sword of great size. Wielding it to the right and to the left, "he cleft the heads of the flying Indians like so many pumpkins."

Colonel Anderson, "an awkward rider with feet sprawled out," caught one of his stirrups in a snag and sprained his ankle. He was lame for the rest of the campaign. Young Jack Clark, the seventeen-year-old son of Colonel Clark, mounted on a dappled gray horse, distinguished himself in pursuing and killing the enemy.[18]

On the other side of town, a dark-looking young Indian, armed with a gun, fled into a deep ravine that skirted the town. General Pickens and a dozen men pursued him, but could not follow on horseback. Dismounting, the men stood on the brink and shot down at him. The warrior danced about like a turkey in defiance of the men above him.

One of the party, a foolhardy fellow by the name of Parata, jumped from his horse and slid down the steep side of the ravine with his sword and rifle clutched in his hand. The Indian, who had appeared unconcerned as he walked back and forth, commenced dodging with the rapidity of a black snake when Parata took aim at him with his rifle. When the shot missed him, Parata turned to run behind a tree with the Indian close behind him. Around and around the tree, the redman stalked the white. At last, believing that he had him, the Indian fired, wounding Parata in the shoulder.

"Now, God damn ye, it's my turn," Parata yelled as he came from behind the tree swinging his sword. Clubbing his rifle the Indian met him.

So quick had the action been that the men on the brink of the ravine had not had time to come to Parata's aid, nor were they able to tell who had the advantage. But while they watched, Parata's sword struck the Indian's throat and his head fell forward on his chest as he slumped to the ground. Horrified, they watched the white man strike with his sword again and again.

General Pickens, who was always as humane as he was brave, said in disgust, "Parata acts like a fool."

When Parata came out of the ravine with his victim's gun and shot pouch, he walked up to Pickens and said, "General, you like to have lost the best soldier you have." With a cold, hard look and a grunt of disapproval, the General turned and walked away.

Just before the town was attacked, David Pickens, a cousin of the General who lived with the Indians, had just gotten his horse out for a race. When he saw the troops approaching he leaped into the saddle and escaped into the hills, where he was later found holding his horse. Captain Maxwell, who knew him well, called to him to surrender, and he did so immediately. A few minutes later Major Taylor arrived on the scene and insisted that he should be killed, but Maxwell objected and saved him, although he and Taylor almost came to blows.[19]

As the little group neared town, they met General Pickens. Saluting him, Maxwell said, "General, here is a person you know."[20]

"Yes," said the General, looking the boy over, "but why do you bring him to me?"

"I thought you might have something to say to him."

"I have nothing to say to him," Pickens said as he rode away, perhaps regretting that he had met a relative under such mortifying circumstances.

Chota, a town not more than three-fourths of a mile away, was next on the agenda. Several Indians were killed there before they were dispersed. A short distance above Chota was another village where a few prisoners were taken. Fighting and chasing Cherokees in and around the towns continued until noon. Later, parties were ordered to search the woods for those still in hiding. By nightfall seventy-seven Indians, one Tory, and a Negro had been killed while Pickens had not lost a man.

Both towns were burned and large quantities of beans and corn were destroyed in the fields. Several beeves were found and butchered for the troops, while others, along with some Negroes, horses, furs, skins, iron kettles and other supplies were collected to be taken back to the settlements when the expedition was over.

In the village above Chota, five white men had been captured. Among them were three Elliott brothers and two men named Dinkey and Williams. General Pickens immediately appointed a council to decide on their punishment. After a short hearing, they were sentenced to be hanged the following morning. But when the prisoners were brought out for execution, Colonel Clark, thinking that the evidence had not been sufficient, interceded for Dinkey and the three Elliotts. Having known them in Georgia before the Revolution, he pledged to take the men back there and give them a legal trial. General Pickens granted the request.[20]

The evidence, however, against Williams was enough to justify his execution. He had been proven without a doubt, to be a murderer, house burner, robber, slave stealer, and horse thief. He was hanged from a pole supported by upright standards when the horse he was seated upon was led from beneath him.

The same morning, General Pickens sent three Indian prisoners back to the rest of the nation with terms of peace. He wanted it understood that he blamed not the Indians for the present trouble but the white men who were among them. He promised if they would deliver those men to him, he would neither proceed farther into their nation nor destroy any more of their towns, and would release the men to their chiefs. He would remain in the location for two days. At the end of two days' time if the chiefs of the Cherokee Nation had failed to comply with his terms, he planned to march against them and destroy as many of their towns and as much of their provisions as possible. In the meantime if they wanted to fight, they knew where to find him.[21]

The next day the chiefs agreed to meet his demands, but they asked for a few days longer. Pickens gave them three days more. On the evening of the last day, Terrapin, one of the leading headmen of the tribe, and a band of warriors delivered six white men to Pickens. But Colonel Waters, the Tory, was not among them. Terrapin, however, assured Pickens that no effort would be spared to bring him in along with other members of his party.

On October 8, Pickens learned that Waters was camped on the Estanala River about sixty miles west of Long Swamp, and sent Clark with a hundred men, for him. Word of this move reached Waters and he retreated through the Creek Nation to St. Augustine in Florida.

On the same day, Pickens dispatched Captain Maxwell's company to the Indian town of Estanala, where he took twenty-four Negro slaves who had been stolen by Waters' party from the settlers of South Carolina and Georgia. After a week's absence, the party returned with the Negroes, a number of horses, and a quantity of loot.

A number of chiefs came to Pickens at Selacoa and proposed that he hold a peace treaty conference at Long Swamp. The general agreed and set October 17 for the conference.

On that day twelve chiefs and two hundred warriors appeared before Andrew Pickens. Temporary terms of peace, which were to be confirmed by the whole nation at a time and place to be designated by the governor of Georgia, were signed. By this treaty, all lands claimed by the Cherokees south of the Savannah River and east of the Chattahoochee

River were to be surrendered to Georgia, and the Indians were to trade with the Americans under the same terms that the British had had. The new cession of land was to serve as a buffer between the American frontier and the troublous Chickamaugas.[22]

Thus ended the last military operation of any consequence for South Carolina in the struggle for American independence.[23] Pickens had taken part in the engagement at Savage's Farm in 1775, the first battle of the war in South Carolina, so it was a fitting climax to his military career that he should direct the state's last major campaign in the Revolution.[24]

On his way home, devastated farms and empty barns met his gaze wherever he looked. Where once herds of cattle had grazed in fertile pastures, a scattered remnant roamed at will. Untilled fields, choked with last year's weeds, dotted the countryside. The scars of battles and retreating armies were upon the land.

As he made his way slowly through the ravaged country, gaunt women and hollow-eyed children with drawn faces greeted him as he passed. The war would never be over for the fourteen hundred widows and orphans in Ninety Six District.[25] For them there was no joyous homecoming of husband and father; for them the aftermath of the bitter struggle was now a brutal reality.

At the blockhouse, Pickens was warmly welcomed by his family and slaves. Mary and Ezekiel Pickens, who were small children when the Revolution began, were now sixteen and fourteen; Ann, Jane, and Margaret were big girls, too; and little Andrew, born during the war, was no longer a baby. Realizing that he scarcely knew his children, he anticipated spending much time with them. But first, he had to report to General Greene.

CHAPTER XIII

Peace at Long Last

PICKENS HURRIED to rejoin General Greene at Ashley Hall. Here, only twelve miles from Charleston, the army remained until the British evacuated that city on December 14, 1782.

Almost fourteen months after the surrender at Yorktown, General Greene entered Charleston. The people, after more than two years of British occupation, cheered wildly as their liberators followed the enemy through the streets and down to the wharves where they watched the British embark. But the men to whom the greatest credit was due for the restoration of their freedom, were not permitted to take part in the liberation. The South Carolina militia under Pickens, Marion, and Hampton were considered "too irregular, too ragged of raiment." They had never been too ragged to fight, and not until then had they been considered too ragged to be seen.[2]

General Greene's attitude in victory appeared to be a reversal of his former high regard for the militia.

To many it seems that his purpose had been scarcely less to humble South Carolina than to overthrow the British. It was later revealed that in correspondence he had belittled and sneered at South Carolina heroes while he was writing them flattering letters. When he rode into Charleston at the head of his Continentals, it did not escape the notice of the people that no state officer had been asked to participate. Moultrie, who was in the Continental line and who had been a prisoner during the British occupation of Charleston and so had nothing to do with the recovery of the state, was the only South Carolina officer allowed to accompany him. Pickens, Marion, and Hampton were all within reach and had fought from border to border, forcing the British into the confines of the city, yet "General Wayne and his mutinous troops from Pennsylvania, who had fought no battle in South Carolina," made the grand entry.[3]

However, in spite of Greene's discrimination, "the names of Sumter, Marion, and Pickens stand out in the history and romance of the United States, occupying a peculiar and unique position. And yet, neither they nor their followers could, for the brilliant services they rendered, be admitted to the Cincinnati Society."[4] In no other state had there been so much fighting and bloodshed. No state contributed more to the common cause of neighboring states nor furnished so many fighting men in proportion to population, nor so few pensioners on the roles when the war was over. When South Carolina was practically abandoned by Congress and the Continental army, it was the militiamen who, "after suffering more and daring more and achieving more than the men of any other State," restored the state's liberties.[5]

Pickens had little to say about the turn of affairs. After the withdrawal of the British troops from Charleston, he was detailed to raise food for Greene's army which still remained in the state.[6] He returned to his home for a brief visit after instructing Captain William Butler to give receipts to the owners for the number of cattle received and to tell them that they were impressed by his order. It was Pickens' intention to see that the farmers from whom the supplies were obtained were reimbursed.

After a few weeks with his family, duty called Pickens again, and early in January, 1783, with Patrick Calhoun and John Ewing Colhoun, he set out to attend the South Carolina legislature. The General Assembly was supposed to meet on the first Monday in January, but it was not until the 24th of the month that a quorum was present.

Dissatisfaction was rife among the South Carolinians because of General Greene's impressment of their cattle. So Pickens was amazed when Governor Mathews, in his opening address to the Assembly, failed to mention the matter and instead made flattering references to Greene. The Senate and House responded in a like manner, although they as well as the governor knew that mutual discontent existed between the army and the civilians, largely due to the methods used in obtaining beef for the troops.[7]

As a result of the dissatisfaction bids were called for, and Banks and Company, which had the clothing contract for the army, got the contract. But this did not end the matter. After long and bitter discussions, the measures looking to a conditional modification of impressments were abandoned.[8]

When the committees were appointed, General Pickens was put on a committee with Mr. Pendleton and General Henderson to consider the expediency of opening the Surveyor General's Office, and the mode they suggested for disposing of vacant lands in the state as was agreed on by the House.[9]

Since the constitution rendered the privy councillors and the governor ineligible for re-election, the legislature elected Benjamin Guerard governor and Richard Beresford lieutenant governor. Peter Bocquet, Arnold Vander Horst, Benjamin Waring, Josiah Smith, Nicholas Eveleigh, William Hassell Gibbes, Jacob Read, and Daniel DeSaussure, all from the Low Country, were chosen members of the privy council.[10]

On February 26, the Senate passed a resolution that gold medals be struck for Pickens, Huger, and Sumter as a mark of public approbation "for their great and glorious and meritorious conduct in the services of their country."[11] It was then directed that the order be sent to the House for concurrence.

Having been the scene of a far more devastating and widespread war than any other state, South Carolina's agriculture was crippled by destroyed equipment, neglected fields, and disorganized labor.[12] Crop failure, lack of confidence in political affairs, and a scarcity of money added to the distress of the people. To alleviate the suffering, the legislature passed an act permitting the tender of any property for debt until 1781 and the emitting of "paper medium" to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds sterling to be lent on mortgages on land or on plate of twice the value.

The paper medium was a success compared with most of the expedients of the time. It was in essence a land bank with paper capital which was limited to a hundred thousand pounds sterling. It furnished loans of not more than two hundred fifty pounds each to more than four hundred persons. The first four loans were made to General Pickens, John E. Colhoun, Richard Winn, and John Hampton.

As soon as the legislature adjourned, Pickens returned home and used the money received from the loan to restock his farm which had been self-sustaining, but like others had been devastated by the war. With his own large family and destitute women and children in the community to be fed and clothed, he concentrated on producing crops which would be of greatest practical benefit. Although he had never raised cotton extensively, he decided to plant more. Besides supplying clothes for the family, slaves, and needy neighbors, the surplus could be sold.

For a time the even tenor of farm life was unbroken save by the efforts of reconstruction. The lush spring greenness hid many marks of war, but on the horizon many a burned chimney pointed its blackened finger toward the sky, a grim reminder of the Revolution. But in the heart of the "General," as he was to be known, there was peace. It was good to be home, good to smell the freshly broken ground as it crumbled under the plow and to feel the soft damp air fan his face as he walked among the slaves, directing the spring planting. Despite the fact that he was one of the wiliest and most fearless fighters in the South, Pickens was eminently a man of compassion and peace.[13]

The tangled weeds and dewy grass touched his boots, wetting his legs, but he did not notice it. The nights he had spent in the open, sometimes sleeping with the rain falling in his face had inured him to early dews. But there were times when the old wound in his chest pained him severely.[14]

Back at the house old Dick waited for his master, chiding him when he returned with wet feet. The General and Becky smiled at each other as they listened to the old man's complaints.

Dick was a privileged character in the Pickens household. His loyalty and devotion had assured him a place of respect and love in the hearts of the entire family. No one knew better than Becky what might have happened to them had it not been for the faithful Negro. She would never forget the time that Andrew had sent him home when the children had smallpox. The Tories had burned their home near the blockhouse, and they had fled into the woods and hid in the canebrakes.[15] When the baby died, it was Dick who took the child from Becky's arms and laid her away in a tiny grave.

Each day Dick had slipped to the edge of the clearing and watched for the Tories. When he considered it safe to return home, he had carried the sickest child, while Becky and the others followed him, feeling secure in his presence. When she told her husband about it, he said there was no finer or braver man living than Dick. Since that day Dick had worn a long knife in a leather sheath at his waist, and he had been granted other special privileges not allowed the other slaves. No one, not even the General's sons, was permitted to cross or rebuke him. Dick said what he pleased, and his master was the only man he treated with deference.

Early in May, General Pickens received a message asking him to come to Augusta, Georgia, to attend a meeting of Georgia commissioners and the Cherokees called to conclude the treaty that he had made with their chiefs at Long Swamp on October 17, 1782. Taking the original document with him, he mounted his horse and set out on the journey thankful that his mission was one of peace instead of war.[16] He crossed the Savannah River and pushed on through territory richly reminiscent of the Revolution. At Augusta, he noticed that the fortifications were still around many of the houses, just as they had been during the siege.[17]

When the meeting convened, General Pickens surrendered the treaty to the Georgians, and although he was not asked to take a seat with the commissioners, he watched the proceedings with a wary eye, knowing that the right kind of peace treaty would be beneficial not only to Georgia but to the whole frontier. As soon as the new treaty was signed (May 31, 1783) he turned his face toward home, hoping that the boundaries they had settled on would be the means of establishing friendly relations between the Georgians and the Indians.[18]

A few Creeks confirmed the treaty, but a large majority of the nation had always opposed the sale of land. They denounced the treaty in the strongest terms, and as far as it concerned their land claims, neither they nor the Cherokees ever accepted it as the voluntary act of their group as a whole. To add to the turmoil, Great Britain entered into an arrangement with Spain by which the province of Florida was restored to her. As a result of this transaction, the Georgians were again made to suffer many annoyances at the hands of their old enemy Spain.

Although there was a period of outward quiet on the frontier, underneath discontent surged. Rumors of this unrest reached Pickens, and he was not surprised at all early in April, 1784, when several men from the Cherokee country called on him. They reported that a certain

Colonel Cleveland of North Carolina was living on the Tugaloo River on lands allotted by South Carolina to her officers and soldiers of the Continental line. Also, about a hundred families had accompanied Cleveland and, after receiving permission from Georgia, had settled on lands between the Keowee and Tugaloo rivers. The Cherokees viewed the occupation of their old towns by the white people from another state with alarm.[19]

Assuring the emissaries of the Cherokee Nation that he would report the incident, General Pickens wrote to Governor Guerard advising him of the situation. It was his opinion, he said, that unless some measures were taken to settle the boundary between Georgia and "this State," he feared South Carolina would "repent the delay."

Moreover, Pickens said, a number of "disorderly people" were going into the Indian country and creating uneasiness there. No person, he believed, should be allowed to go there unless he had received permission from the nation, and before such a person carried on any trade within the nation he should first obtain a license from the state and give security for the good behavior of himself and hirelings while so engaged. Pickens said he hoped that such regulations would shortly take effect; this he felt would add to the security and safety of the state.

Several weeks later he went to Augusta and called on the "president of the State of Georgia in Council" relative to the land between the Keowee and Tugaloo rivers claimed by both Georgia and South Carolina. After some conversation, the president told Pickens that he had received several petitions for the land and he was determined to grant them. As soon as Pickens reached home, he sent a letter to Governor Guerard of South Carolina giving an account of the interview. "I mention this to your Excellency," he wrote, "that perhaps some measures may be taken to prevent the confusion that will in consequence ensue on both States granting the same land."[20] The dispute was not settled until the convention at Beaufort, on April 18, 1787. Pickens was appointed as one of the commissioners to establish the boundary line between the two states.[21]

After the Cherokee representatives had returned to the nation from Beaufort, Pickens received several letters from their headmen regarding the encroachment of the white people. He immediately notified Governor Guerard.

Although the chief complaint of the Indians was against the North Carolinians who were settling and running lines within a few miles of their towns, they were not altogether satisfied about the lands the South Carolinians were about to settle. Some Indians were reported to have consented to the intrusion, but others claimed they had never been consulted. As a whole, the Creeks and Chickasaws, as well as the Cherokees, were dissatisfied about the encroachments of the whites upon their lands without their consent. Hence, Pickens said he felt that retaliations could be expected and in the event of war he had been reliably informed that the Choctaws had promised to come to the aid of the Cherokees. To prevent this, he suggested that Congress take steps to secure the boundaries with the Indians and to prevent the white people from settling on Indian lands.[22]

While these Indian matters occupied Pickens' attention, there was still much to be done in his own community. Despite the fact that the Revolutionary War had been over for several years, the newly won independence of the country had brought no change in the relations between the coastal parishes and the more populous highlands of South Carolina.

The task of organizing the district to fight for an equal voice in the affairs of the state[23] fell upon such men as Andrew Pickens, Patrick Calhoun, and John Ewing Colhoun.[24] One of the first problems was to divide the big Ninety Six District.

Immediately after the war the General Assembly had passed an ordinance whereby commissioners would be appointed in each of the seven judicial districts to form counties in the territory released by the Indians in the treaty of May 20, 1777; Pickens and Thomas Brandon were among those appointed. Accordingly, on May 21, 1784, the area that officially became Greenville County in 1786, was opened for settlement.[25]

A short time later, Ninety Six District was divided, and Pickens was on the commission to establish the boundary between it and the newly founded district of Abbeville. Residing in the new district, Pickens was made a justice of the peace with Patrick Calhoun, William Moore, Robert Anderson, John Bowie, Andrew Hamilton, and John Harris. They were instructed to select a site near the center of the county for the courthouse and jail. In due time, a building equipped with pillory and stocks was erected across the creek from the Pickens blockhouse.[26]

However, the court term began before the building was finished, and the blockhouse, having served in many other capacities, became the site of the first court held in Abbeville District.[27] Justice Pickens and two other magistrates presided. Dressed in a frilled white shirt, swallow-tail coat, knee pants, high heel shoes with silver buckles, long white hose, a tricorn hat, and wearing a sword in token of his military rank, General Pickens was an imposing figure of a man.[28] When he arose to address the court, the lines of an iron will that etched his clean-shaven face indicated that he would not hesitate to pass a harsh sentence if it were warranted. But despite his serious mien and distant manner, his compassion, understanding, and unswerving sense of fairness assured whoever stood before him of a just hearing.[29]

At the end of a full session, the last case on the docket was called and Isaac Mayfield was fined "for seven profane oaths."[30] The verdict pronounced, the justices concluded the court proceedings. All three were elders in the Presbyterian church, and the new district would have law and order founded on the principles of God and man, if the judges had their way. Men who had been tempered in the wars of the frontier and the Revolution did not regard their duties lightly when called on to uphold the statutes of the country for which they had fought.

But not all of Andrew Pickens' time was devoted to the farm and civil and political affairs. An elder in the Hopewell Church, he was vitally concerned with its administration. On August 20, 1783, at a meeting in his home, he had also been appointed a commissioner to fix the boundaries between the four local churches and to select sites for other churches.[31]

Meanwhile, on January 8, 1784, the Pickens' tenth child, Rebecca, was born.[32] Ever zealous that his children should receive the education that he had missed, he engaged James Alexander Douglas, a Scot who had been educated by the Jesuits, to teach the children and especially to prepare Ezekiel for college.[33]

His family, their care and education, the independence of his country, and a practical everyday religion were Pickens' chief interests. He never sought high office, but when the "voice of his country called him to various capacities," he accepted them as his duty. "Such a man," William Johnson, the historian, concluded, "may merit public expressions of gratitude, but they will be oftener heaped upon the noisy demagogue or assiduous intriguer."[31]

Although some writers[34] have stated that there was no evidence on record of General Pickens ever having received pay for his military services, there is a stub of an indent issued on September 12, 1784, showing that he filed a claim and received payment for "1193 pounds, 12 shillings, and three pence farthing sterling for sundrys for military use in 1779, 1780, and 1782; and his pay as colonel of the Upper Ninety Six District Regiment in 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783."[35] The Treasury Office in Charleston paid the last installment of eighty-six pounds, ten shillings, and four pence sterling on February 4, 1788.

CHAPTER XIV

The Treaties of Hopewell

DESPITE ANDREW PICKENS' obvious respect for law and order, and his participation in securing courts, schools, and churches for his section of South Carolina, it was equally apparent that he was personally a restless, adventurous man. Surrounded by advancing elements of civilian life, he looked forward to establishing a new home in the wilderness. "He had a fondness for being near the Indians," a writer observed.[1]

From time to time he had visited his Uncle Robert Pickens in the hills near the North Carolina border and decided to buy some land nearby on the Keowee River.[2] Essentially a frontiersman, Pickens liked the challenge of unsettled, untouched land, and by 1785, his new home was completed on the bluffs of the Keowee and was called "Hopewell" after his church in the Long Canes.

One of the first concerns in his new location was the establishment of a church. Once settled, he and his neighbors organized one in the community and called it "Hopewell." The minister was the Reverend Thomas Reese who said that elders Pickens and Robert Anderson, by their example, encouraged settlers of their denomination to move there. Mr. Reese, in describing the members, said, "A few . . . are wealthy and very forward to support the gospel; among whom are General Pickens and Colonel Robert Anderson, both men of great influence in the State of South Carolina."[3]

A congregation was organized some years before the first church was built of logs in 1791. About eleven years later it was replaced by one of fieldstone and subsequently was called "The Stone Meetinghouse."

Before his new home was completed Pickens was commissioned to give his assistance in the settlement of further Indian troubles. The encroachments of the whites on the lands formerly ceded to the adjoining states were stirring up trouble with the Cherokees.[4] Pickens was still at Long Canes at Abbeville when he learned of this situation. Tidings also came to him that his old enemy, Alexander McGillivray, the half-breed chief of the Creeks and Seminoles, was discontent with the treatment of his people.[5] McGillivray was the son of a wealthy Scottish merchant and half-breed Indian princess. Educated in Charleston, he returned to his people after his father went back to Scotland when the Revolutionary War began. During that conflict McGillivray had been pro-British.

Not satisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Augusta, McGillivray was again stirring up trouble in Georgia; he declared the treaty void and wrote to Governor O'Neil of Florida, proposing an alliance with Spain.[6] As a result, border warfare commenced, fomented by the artifices of the Spaniards.

Thereupon Congress, on March 21, 1785, named a commission to treat with the Southern Indians. Recognizing the ability of Pickens and the fact that he not only commanded the respect of the Indians, but had convinced them that he was their superior in war, Congress appointed him on the commission. Benjamin Hawkins, Daniel Carroll, William Perry, and Joseph Martin were selected to serve with him.

Once more he put aside his personal duties for those of his country, and in the late spring of 1785, Pickens went to Charleston to meet Hawkins and Martin. On June 9, the three United States commissioners, constituting a quorum, wrote Governor Caswell of North Carolina of their plans to meet the Creeks at Galphinton, a trading post on the Ogeechee River in Georgia, on the third Monday in September.[9] Thence they would proceed to Hopewell, "a seat of General Pickens' "[10] where they would meet representatives of the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations. Then on the authorization of Congress, they asked North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia to contribute a sum not to exceed $13,000 for expenses; included in this amount were funds to purchase presents for the Indians. Since South Carolina had already furnished enough to cover the immediate expenses and to notify the Indians, they asked North Carolina to provide one-third of the amount required by the second Monday in October.[11]

The commissioners warned the governor that the Creeks and Cherokees would resist any attempt on North Carolina's part to seize their property and that certain disorderly white men had stirred up the Indians to a degree where hostilities were liable to break out any time.[12]

Shortly after the message was sent, Pickens, Hawkins, and Martin, fearing that the time allowed was too short for the Indians to gather, changed the date for the conference at Galphinton to October 24th[13] and sent an invitation to the Creeks to that effect. "The United States," they said, "is a great and wise nation who has conquered all their enemies, but now they are desirous of peace with you and shall forget that you were their enemy in the last war."[14]

Short of funds and beset by a severe summer drouth,[15] the three men and their body servants journeyed from Charleston to Savannah where they were to meet Lachlan McIntosh who had been placed on the commission when Perry and Carroll refused to serve.[16] There they learned that Governor Caswell had raised a thousand pounds, but he had appointed William Blount and Joseph Martin to treat independently with the Cherokees on North Carolina's behalf if the federal commissioners failed to reach an agreement with them. Since North Carolina was more concerned over a treaty with the Cherokees, the governor had instructed them to use the money to purchase rum and other supplies to be sent to Hopewell a few weeks later.[17] Governor Samuel Elbert of Georgia also notified the commissioners that he would furnish them with a guard of one hundred men, but that he could not grant their request for expense money, though he would put it before the legislature at its next session.[18] Virginia had honored the draft drawn by the commissioners.[19]

Disappointed that they had not raised the necessary funds for their mission, the commissioners arrived in Galphinton on October 24 to find the guard promised by Governor Elbert awaiting them. But not an Indian was present. Finally, after five days, several chiefs and about sixty warriors from two towns arrived with assurances that the nation as a whole was pleased at the prospects of a conference and that other chiefs and headmen would attend the meeting.[20]

The commissioners presented the agents of Georgia and North Carolina with a draft of the proposed treaty. The Georgians, who had been sent to oppose any actions of the government, immediately entered a formal protest, declaring that the terms would deprive the state of part of its soil and sovereignty. Somewhat rebuffed, the commissioners answered that treating with Indian nations was within Congress' exclusive jurisdiction.[21]

Days passed and the expected delegation of Creeks failed to appear, although Alexander McGillivray had written Pickens on September 5 that they would meet the commissioners whenever they received the notice, in the "expectation that every difference will be made up and settled with the liberality and justice worthy the men who have so gloriously asserted the cause of liberty and independence, and that we shall in the future consider them as brethren and defenders of the land."[22]

When two weeks had passed and McGillivray and the other chiefs had not come, the commissioners learned that false reports—no doubt due to the half-breed chief's influence—had been circulated and that the Creeks would not attend. Thereupon the disheartened commissioners met with the Indians there and told them they could not negotiate with so few representatives as it was impossible under such conditions to make an honest peace. In a brief ceremony they delivered presents to the Indians and departed for South Carolina.[23]

As soon as they had gone, the agents from Georgia and the chiefs from the two Creek towns concluded a treaty which not only confirmed the peace of 1783, but also extended the limits of Georgia from the junction of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers on the North to the St. Mary's River in Florida on the South. What induced the Indians to release so much territory was not stated, but the document proved to be a source of trouble for years. Chiefs of ninety-eight towns denied the right of only two of their nation to speak for all and refused to accept the treaty. As a result many clashes occurred between the Georgians and the Creeks.[24]

The commissioners were not deterred by their failure at Galphinton, but continued preparations for the treaty conference with the Cherokees which was to be held on November 15, 1785, at Hopewell. Pickens' influence with the Cherokees was well known and the fact that they had been induced to come to his home to treat augured of success.[25]

Accompanied by armed guards and by William Blount, agent for North Carolina, and Edward Telfair, John King, and Thomas Glascock, agents of Georgia, the commissioners arrived at Pickens' house on the Keowee, where the goods for the treaty awaited them.[26] At first only a few Indians appeared, but when the commissioners assembled on the 18th they found that five hundred had arrived during the night. But representation was still not sufficient, and a delay of several days was allowed so that the other chiefs might gather.[27]

At ten o'clock on November 22, the meeting was called to order in a large shelter of pines erected for the occasion. The chiefs and warriors, wearing leather breeches fringed with wampum and their heads bedecked with eagle feathers in their hair, settled down for the talks. Taking turns, the commissioners addressed them.

The Cherokees responded the following day through the venerable Chief Corn Tassel of Chota. Although he presented the symbolic tokens of peace, he complained of white settlers' encroachments. When he had finished, War Woman arose and expressed a desire for peace, presenting a string to signify union and a pipe and tobacco as peace symbols. At the conclusion of the speech the meeting adjourned until the next day.

The Indian's love of ceremony was respected and on the 24th, after more speeches by the chiefs, the meeting was again adjourned. The following day the commissioners were careful to explain the changes brought about by the Revolution and the attitude of Congress toward the Indians. Furthermore, they urged them to state their case freely in order that justice might be done. The chiefs considered the matter and asked for paper and pencil so they might draw a map of their country. After providing them, the commissioners retired to Pickens' house a short distance away.

When the meeting reconvened, the chiefs produced the map which included the territory purchased by Colonel Richard Henderson in 1775. When the commissioners pointed this out, the Indians protested, saying that Henderson was a liar and a rogue. They were reminded that Henderson was dead and that his purchase could not be disputed. They finally relinquished the claim to that vast region roughly bound by the Ohio, the Kentucky, and the Cumberland rivers and extending eastward between the sources of the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers into the western part of present-day Virginia. In return, a considerable area which had been obtained by doubtful purchases was conceded to the Cherokees.

The Indians, however, refused to yield their claim to the land between the French Broad and the Holston rivers. They said they had never ceded that land, and they wanted the three thousand white settlers there evicted. In vain the commissioners sought a cession of the tract, in view of the fact that so many settlers were there. Despite the arguments, the Cherokees were adamant, but they finally agreed to submit the matter to Congress and to allow the whites to stay there until the question was settled.

In addition to the Cherokees' protest, the agents from North Carolina and Georgia objected to certain parts of the treaty as infringing upon their rights. In spite of all difficulties, the treaty was finally signed and delivered to General Pickens on November 25, under a large red oak tree which was known for many years as the "Treaty Oak," near the present towns of Pendleton and Clemson.[28]

Besides incorporating in the treaty the proper disposal of lands in Georgia and other localities, the regulation of trade, etc., the Cherokees were given the privilege of sending a deputy to Congress whenever they wished.[29]

On the morning following the signing of the treaty, nine hundred eighteen chiefs and warriors were gathered in front of Pickens' house to receive the customary presents. Expecting only the chiefs and headmen, the commissioners were unprepared for the crowd that faced them. But not to be outdone, they not only distributed presents, but added a gift of provisions for the return trip home. Each commissioner then bade the redmen goodbye; thus bringing to an end the peace negotiations which had lasted ten days.

A few days later, December 4, Martin and McIntosh departed, leaving Pickens and Hawkins to finish the reports and conclude such other matters as required their attention. When they saw that the expense money would soon be exhausted, Pickens and Hawkins decided to dispense with their guards and conclude the remaining treaties without them. The money saved was applied to items they deemed more important than their own safety.

On December 9, Pickens and Hawkins received word from Colonel John Woods that the Choctaw chiefs were on their way to Hopewell and would reach there later in the month. As soon as the message was received, runners were dispatched to recall Martin and McIntosh. When Martin got the message, he turned back and reached the lodge on the 27th, but McIntosh had gone too far to return in time for the conference.

As Christmas approached and the prospects of being at home with his family dimmed, the General sent hunters into the woods for game. When the day arrived, he invited a large company of Indians who had remained at Hopewell, to share his Christmas dinner. Seated around the big table which was covered with an assortment of wild meats and fowls, they naturally discussed the treaties. In the informal and friendly atmosphere, the conversation led to better understanding, and in years to come was the basis of continuing peace with the Cherokees.[30]

The next day the Choctaws reached Hopewell after a fatiguing seventy-seven-day journey from their nation in the west. Almost naked, they told the story of their harrowing trip through the Creek territory. Acting under McGillivray's orders, the Creeks had stolen their horses and tried in every way they could to prevent them from reaching Hopewell. But the Choctaws refused to turn back. Impressed with their aversion toward the Spaniards and their desire to place themselves under the protection of the United States, Pickens and Hawkins provided them with food and clothing.[31]

On the morning of January 3, 1786, the meeting convened in the brush arbor and a treaty was drawn up whereby the Choctaw Nation was to receive the favor and protection of the United States. The possession of lands held under the protection of King George III of England was confirmed, but three tracts were reserved for the use of the United States. Thirty-one chiefs, representing the Choctaw Nation, and Andrew Pickens, Benjamin Hawkins, and Joseph Martin, representing the United States government, signed the treaty in the presence of William Blount who acted as a witness. After the usual formalities of bestowing gifts, which cost $1,181, the Choctaw delegation departed.

As soon as they had gone, Pickens, Hawkins, and Martin turned their attention to the Chickasaws who had arrived several days before the conclusion of the Choctaw treaty. Although they had encountered fewer difficulties than the Choctaws, they suffered from thievery as they passed through the Cherokee territory.[33]

On January 7, the commissioners met the Chickasaw representatives in conference. Negotiations proceeded rapidly and by the 10th the treaty was signed by both parties.

Since the next day was wet and disagreeable, the ceremony of distributing the gifts was postponed until the 12th.

At that time further professions of friendships were made, and the presents and provisions, costing "659 and 35 dollars" were distributed.[34]

During the ceremony word was received that several renegade Cherokees had attacked and robbed a party of Chickasaws en route home. Runners were quickly dispatched with offers of a reward for the apprehension of the thieves and the return of the stolen goods. Three days later the Chief of Chetugoh, no doubt remembering his promises of friendship to "Skyagunsta" and aware of the nearness of his towns to Hopewell, brought the goods to Pickens. He reported that one Indian had been wounded, but the guilty parties had escaped. When the reward was presented, he was assured that his "faithful Service" would not be forgotten.

Meanwhile, Pickens and Hawkins, believing that the terms of the treaty should be enforced without delay, forwarded the treaties to Congress and sent a letter to Governor William Moultrie of South Carolina.[35]

"We are of the opinion," the commissioners wrote, "that a steady adherence to the treaties will insure confidence in the justice of Congress; and that a disposition in the adjoining States to carry the treaties into effect will make the Indians happy in our new change of sovereignty, and in constant amity with us."

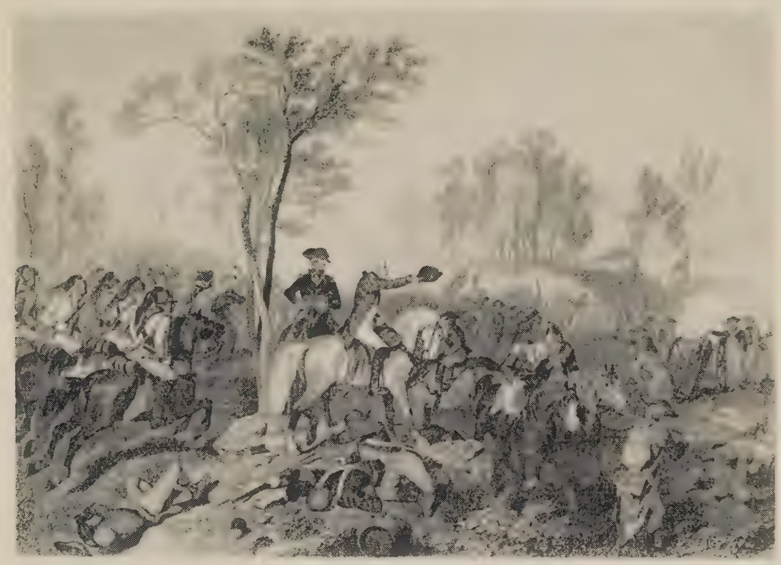
After the conference was over Pickens returned to his family at Long Canes. A few days later he set out for Charleston to attend the legislature which was already in session.

The subject of a new state capital had been discussed for several years and on March 11, 1786, Pickens, Sumter, and Robert Anderson were appointed to determine its site. Four days later they presented their findings which described a circle thirty miles in diameter and included the site of the present capital, Columbia.[36]

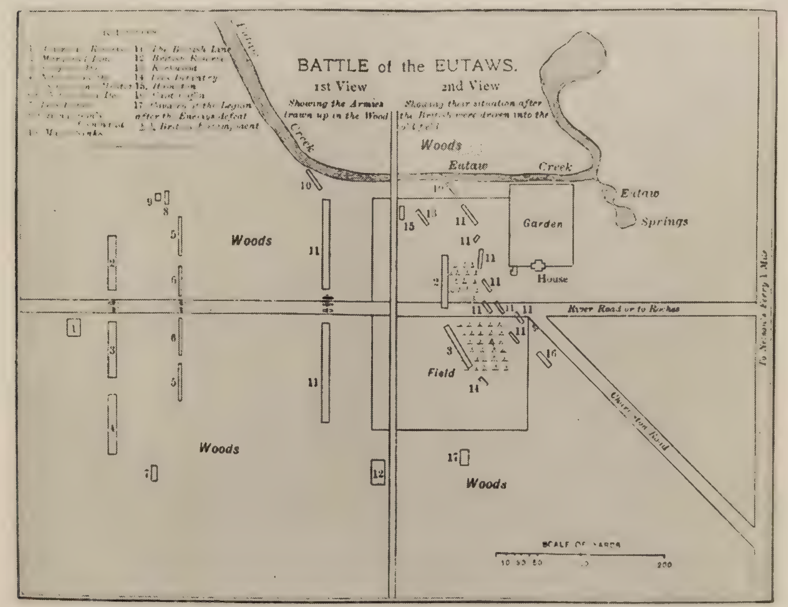
As was expected, the move met with "spirited opposition" from some members, but the Up Country won the fight, and it was decided to build on the banks of the Congaree River. Although the town was laid out in Governor Moultrie's administration, the seat of government did not move there until several years later.[37]

Before the session closed, Pickens, Charles C. Pinckney, and Pierce Butler were named by the General Assembly to

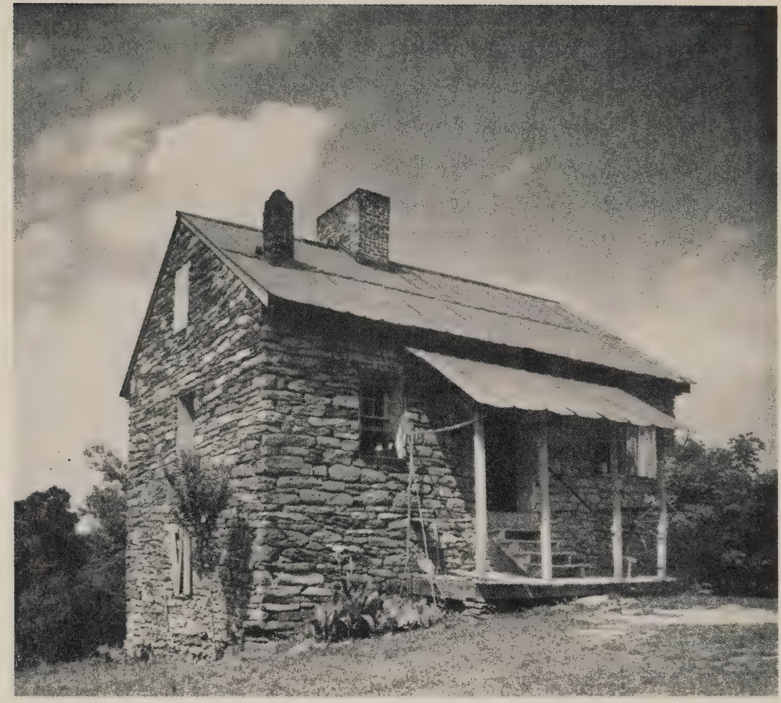
BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS



From an engraving of the painting by Chappell. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library.


BATTLE of the EUTAWS.
1st View
Showing the Armies drawn up in the Wood
2nd View
Showing their situation after the British were drawn into the field
11 The British Line
12 British Reserve
14 Lees Infantry
17 Cavalry of the Legion after the Enemys defeat
Eutaw Creek
Woods
Garden
House
Eutaw Springs
Field
River Road or to Rochas
Charleston Road
To Nelson's Ferry 1 Mile
SCALE OF YARDS
10 30 50
200

From William Johnson's *Life of Nathanael Greene.*



OCONEE STATION

Although additions have been made to this old structure, built about 1760, it is basically the same frontier fort that Pickens knew during trouble with the Cherokees. Photograph by Carl Julien in *Beneath So Kind a Sky* (Julien and Milling), USC Press.

serve as a committee "to settle differences and fix boundaries with North Carolina."[38]

The latter part of the year proved to be comparatively quiet for the General. In addition to his farming interests he opened a store at Hopewell and moved his family to their new home. On June 9, another daughter was born and named Catherine for the old grandmother who had been killed by the Indians in the Long Canes massacre in 1760.[39]

In August, Congress passed an ordinance for regulating Indian affairs and appointed James White as the first superintendent of the southern district. Among other duties, he was to regulate trade and travel among the Indian nations, enforce the laws on both the whites and redmen, report rumored hostilities, and of treating the Indians as his wards.[40] Most of these measures had been advocated by Pickens before the Hopewell treaties were concluded, and it was his greatest hope that such steps would bring peace to the troubled areas.

CHAPTER XV

Negotiations with McGillivray

IN SPITE of the treaties of friendship, the Indians remained a problem for Congress. The upper Creeks and Cherokees continually made war on the Cumberland settlers. On the Wabash River the French traders under the leadership of M. Viez did not harass the Cumberland people, but when he was succeeded by a new leader, the Indians were supplied with arms and urged to attack the settlers.[1]

At the same time the Creeks were continuing their depredations along the Georgia frontier.[2] They were enraged because white people had settled on Oconee lands which they believed had been wrung from them by the Shoulderbone Treaty of November 3, 1786.

Pickens was aware of the situation and on July 4, 1787, wrote to Thomas Pinckney, governor of South Carolina, enclosing "talks" and letters which since April had passed between the commissioners and the Creek chiefs. As a result, September 15 was set as the date for the treaty conference with the Creeks.[3]

Recognizing the difficulties encountered when treaties were entered into between commissioners from the different states and the Indians, General Pickens believed the only way to insure a lasting peace between the Southern Indians and the United States was for the President and the Senate to take steps to remove the power of individual states of negotiating treaties or purchasing lands from the Indians without the consent of Congress. The other commissioners agreed, and in the hope that the differences between the Creeks and the Georgians could be settled without bloodshed, they forwarded recommendations to that effect to Congress and to Governor Pinckney.[3]

In the weeks that followed, Pickens kept a close check on the increase of hostilities across the Georgia border for fear the trouble would spread into South Carolina. Therefore he was not surprised when he received a letter from Colonel Robert Anderson who lived near Seneca, saying that on September 3, 1787, a small party of Indians, supposedly Creeks, had attacked the home of Samuel Isaac, a settler on the west (Georgia) side of the Tugaloo River, killed his thirteen-year-old son, and captured a woman, child, and little Negro. The people on the Carolina side, Anderson reported, were alarmed and were preparing to move unless they received protection.[4]

Pickens immediately informed Governor Pinckney and wrote that in view of the hostile acts committed by both the Creeks and Georgians, he believed an open war was inevitable. Although the chiefs had stated that their quarrel was with Georgia, and not with South Carolina, he did not doubt that South Carolina's frontiers would be attacked. He recommended to the governor that a small company be stationed in the fork of the Keowee and Tugaloo rivers, to discourage the spread of hostilities and to reassure the residents in that section of protection.[4]

Pickens also told the governor that he felt it was better to appoint militia officers in that part of the state and particularly above the "ancient boundary line." As the area needed two regiments, one on each side of the Saluda, he recommended that Colonel Anderson be put in command of the six hundred men on the south side. Not being well acquainted with Greenville County, he suggested that the governor make that appointment.[4]

Two weeks later, Pickens received Pinckney's reply, with a copy of the Council's resolution wherein the General had been appointed commissioner for dividing and fixing the company districts into regiments according to his suggestions of September 12. Furthermore, he was authorized to raise an independent company to be under his own command. "The greatest difficulty," the governor wrote, "is the pay." The men would have to wait for their money until the legislature met. He asked Pickens to make the best contracts possible for supplies, since the contractors would also have to wait until the legislature convened to get their pay. The governor sent fifty pounds of ammunition and promised to send three hundred pounds of powder and one thousand pounds of lead.[5]

In closing, the governor expressed his confidence in Pickens' exertions for the defense of the state and urged him, in the name of South Carolina, to insist on immediate satisfaction from the nation that had outraged the Isaac family. If the Indians attacked, Pickens was authorized to call out the militia he deemed necessary without waiting for instructions.[5]

Pickens was willing to comply with the governor's request to raise the militia, but he refused to serve as commander of the independent company. "What your Excellency has intrusted me with I will attend to with chearfulness," Pickens wrote, "but I presumed your Excellency had known that I had resigned my command of the Ninety Six Brigade some years past, and my determination never again to assume any command whatever—it is not essential to know my reasons, though they are many and to me conclusive. It is painful to me to contend with men whom I have every reason to believe are my real friends; it is useless to say more on the subject, but let me earnestly entreat you to appoint some other person to the command, and not expect it from one who has often declared he never would."[6]

Having dispatched the letter, General Pickens proceeded with organizing of the defense of the frontier, and on October 10 from his home on the Keowee, he notified Captain John Norwood of the governor's order to raise an independent company. Pickens asked him to command it with Mr. Miles as his lieutenant. Although the pay seemed low, it was more than they could make any other way.[7] Pickens ordered Norwood to recruit thirty men to defend the settlement at Tugaloo until February 1, and to tell him when they were sworn in. Norwood was told to assure the inhabitants that they would be protected, but at the same time warn them to be careful not to insult any friendly Indians.[7]

The business of immediate protection attended to,[8] Pickens met with General Anderson and representatives of the upper part of the Ninety Six Regimental District. Company districts were accordingly laid out and notices sent to the different companies to meet on October 20, to elect officers and receive their commissions. Several days later, the General followed the same procedure with Greenville County officials.[9]

On the appointed day, the companies of both sections chose their officers. Colonels Anderson and Wood told the men in the three companies that General Pickens ordered them to be ready to move on the shortest notice. A certified return of the names of the men on the militia rolls was sent to Pickens, who in turn forwarded it to the governor with a request for forty or fifty blank commissions for the officers.[10]

Although there had been no trouble near the South Carolina border since the Isaac incident, several people had been killed on the Georgia frontier, and General Elijah Clark had had an encounter with the Creeks on the Oconee River. This and the constant threat of Indian attacks had sent the families on both sides of the river into the forts for protection.[11]

Anxious to avoid further bloodshed, Pickens wrote to McGillivray and urged him to use his influence to stop the killing and capture of innocent women and children. Such practices, he said, could only add to the enemies of the Creek Nation. In conclusion, Pickens pointed out the borders of the state and said, "Carolina has no dispute at present with his nation or any other nation of Indians on the continent respecting boundaries."[11]

In July, Pickens had sent "talks" to Cherokee chiefs and headmen inviting them to confer with him at Hopewell. As a result, Little Turkey, one of the principal Cherokee headmen, was sent by his tribe to talk to the Creeks.[13]

When he returned to the Cherokee Nation, a "talk" was sent to General Pickens telling him that when Little Turkey reached Little Tallassee on October 14, he found that McGillivray had left three days before for Pensacola, Florida. He learned that the Creek chief was opposed to a general war, but that the Creeks were determined to have satisfaction from the Georgians whom they said had forcibly taken land from them and had unjustly killed a number of their people. McGillivray, they said, had insisted that the Indians not begin hostilities until they had received an answer from Congress to their complaint delivered by James White, their new agent. McGillivray had been unable to dissuade them, but he ordered the Creek warriors not to cross the Tugaloo River or molest the inhabitants on the South Carolina frontier. The men agreed to abide by his order, but a few days before Little Turkey left the village, two parties of warriors had set out against the Georgians, many of whom had moved across the river into South Carolina.[12]

Weeks had passed since Pickens asked the Cherokees to come to Hopewell; but a few days after he received Little Turkey's report, a delegation from the Cherokee Hills arrived "with expressions of satisfaction" from The Badger and his warriors. Representatives from every town on that side of the mountain, they said, had met according to the General's request. Anxious to enforce his wishes, they had passed a law that if a redman stole a horse from the white people, he would be brought before the warriors and headmen in the "beloved town of Ushnare" for sentencing. The thief would then be returned to his own village, where he would be stripped and whipped by his family in the public square,[13] according to the judgment of the "court."

Furthermore, the chief wrote, "We are desirous of taking the whites by the hand. The Badger thinks that the Great Man above is listening to this talk. He hopes no talks but good talks will pass between you. He says the Good Man made you and him, though different in color. The Great Man above hears all and He hopes you and Him will lay your heads together that neither the blood of white or red may ever in the future be spilt As you are a warrior and a beloved man it is their desire that you talk to your young people in friendship. We are determined to do the same with our young people that nothing but friendship shall exist between us."[13]

Scarcely had Andrew Pickens heard the delegation from The Badger when another party of Cherokees arrived, bearing a "talk" from chiefs Corn Tassel and Hanging Maw. Apparently alarmed at the Creek and Georgia hostilities and wishing to avoid troubles of their own, they wrote reminding General Pickens of their "talks" held at Seneca three years before, and the agreement that any of their people, whites or Cherokees, who did "mischief" were to be "punished adequate to the Crime." Several instances were cited of horse thieves being put to death.

"There is rogues among us," the chiefs wrote, "and I am sorry I am obliged to say that there is some also among the whites, which is the reason that we can't live as Brotherly as I would wish . . . Anything I can do by talking to my people I do, but I don't care to concern with white people, therefore I have to desire that you will take notice . . . so as to prevent . . . such practices. . . ."

During the summer the chiefs had sent a representative to Congress. He had reported that Mr. White had been appointed as an agent to the nation to hear their complaints and report them to Congress. They were assured that they could henceforth expect justice in all matters. "For which reason," Chief Corn Tassel said, "I have had new laws made throughout my land to punish rogues very severely . . . I will endeavor to keep my people in order and . . . I hope you will try to keep yours so that we may live in peace. . . .

"But I can inform you that the Creeks are a different way of thinking and certainly are for war. They have appointed this present moon to break upon the whites generally to kill and plunder. For my part we are all for peace. The Creeks are not for peace. So I expect you and they will go to war, but I hope that won't make us fall out for we are your friends, and will continue so, but I am afraid you will [be] oblige[d] to war with more than the Creeks, for I have heard that the Choctaws are about to join them. I will conceal nothing from you that comes to my knowledge that I think you ought to know for I consider myself your Brother."[14]

On October 15, Pickens inclosed the "Talks" in a letter to Governor Pinckney, assuring him that everything in his power would be done to prevent a war and to keep the Cherokees and the frontier quiet. But he warned the governor that although the chiefs and headmen professed great friendship and promised to use their influence to keep the "Creeks from coming this way," he doubted that their promises should be relied on too much.[15]

Conditions were inflammatory along the frontier. The Creeks consistently refused to make peace although the Federal government grasped every opportunity to gain the friendship of McGillivray and put an end to the trouble in Georgia.[16] Baffled and perplexed by the wily chief, agent White had left the nation. In October, Congress commissioned Andrew Pickens, Richard Winn, and George Mathews to treat with the Creeks.[17] Before they could begin negotiations, the Creeks burned the town of Greensboro, Georgia, killed several inhabitants, and carried others away as prisoners.[18]

The commissioners were shaken by this event but they continued to try to negotiate with McGillivray. He steadfastly refused to meet with them until they had removed the Georgians from Oconee lands.[18]

Hostilities continued to spread. On the evening of December 17 a small party of Indians crossed the Tugaloo River into South Carolina, killed a man, woman, and child, wounded a three-month-old baby, and immediately recrossed the river into Georgia.[19]

As soon as Lieutenant Miles (of the independent company) learned of the attack he notified Pickens. The General immediately passed the information along to Governor Pinckney, who was in Long Canes.[19]

Pinckney replied by return messenger that he was deeply concerned. "It is our business," he said, "to take the necessary measures to prevent if possible further mischief . . . Perhaps if McGillivray could be early notified of the proposal of a treaty, further injury might be prevented. At all events a peremptory demand of satisfaction from the nation to which the offenders belong should if circumstances will permit precede offensive operations. Firmly relying on your discretion, I request and hereby authorize you to order out fresh detachments of the militia as may be necessary for the defense of the State. . . ."[20]

Acting upon the governor's authorization, General Pickens immediately issured orders for reinforcing all frontier posts. Then, notwithstanding the fact that McGillivray had heretofore refused to negotiate and had ignored former letters, he resumed his efforts to bring about a peace between the Creeks and Georgians.[21]

On December 24 Pickens wrote McGillivray reminding him that in September he had written a letter urging him as a ruler of the Creeks "and as a gentleman of humanity" to put a stop to the murder and imprisonment of women and children. He had hoped that the difference between the Creeks and Georgians would be settled without engaging in the horrors of war. However, since such had not been the case, Congress had appointed three United States commissioners, with full power to settle and adjust all matters of dispute between the Creeks, Cherokees, and the neighboring states. It was the desire of the commissioners to hold a conference in the spring to settle the boundary question "on just and equitable principles."[21]

Despite previous promises of the Creeks to respect the boundaries of South Carolina, a party of Creek Indians crossed the Tugaloo River on the night of December 17 and murdered three people. "I have full power from the governor of this State," Pickens wrote, "to demand ample satisfaction for this unprovoked insult and barbarous murder committed on the peaceable citizens of this State. I do by the authority of the State desire that you, sir, with the other chiefs of your nation, . . . immediately inquire into the matter and have the persons who committed this murder apprehended and brought to some convenient place and put to death in the presence of one or more white men who shall be appointed for that purpose. You will please let me hear from you, with your determination on this matter, by the 10th day of February next. You may rest assured the State will not suffer such unprovoked insult without ample satisfaction."[21]

Before Pickens' letter reached McGillivray, the half-breed chief dispatched a letter to the General saying that during the fall he had seldom been at home and therefore had been unable to reply to his communications. He assured Pickens that although the Creeks had frequently been obliged to lift the "Red hatchet of retaliation" against the Georgians, he had always made a distinction between friend and foe. Therefore, he had ordered his warriors never to approach the South Carolina border, a course he intended to observe as long as the General's state maintained a peaceable disposition toward his nation and did not interfere by assisting their enemies.[22]

McGillivray declared he did not encourage bloodshed and wanton depredation, but he deemed it no crime to retaliate upon a people who brought such distresses upon his people. Every move he had made to settle their dispute equitably had been treated with insolence and contempt by the Georgians. After their declaration of war in August, the only alternative left to the Creeks was to fight, flee across the Mississippi, or be pushed into the sea. In the event of all-out war, the ultimate outcome would mean the total destruction of the Georgians.[22]

McGillivray then reviewed the proposal he had submitted to James White, the Superintendent of Southern Indians, who in turn was to present it to the Georgians and Congress. Nothing had yet been heard from his proposition. If the Georgians would cede to the Creeks the lands which were formerly theirs (south of the Altamaha to the sea and to the St. Mary's River with the islands between) then, and only then, would they cede the north side of the Oconee to the Georgians. Upon these terms a lasting peace might be established as the grounds of dispute would be removed by mutual concessions. Otherwise, the Georgians would never be allowed to settle in peace.[22]

In conclusion, McGillivray showed his esteem for General

Pickens. Five men living on the Tugaloo, who claimed to be "peaceable inhabitants," he said, had recently petitioned him for a suspension of hostilities. Not knowing the character of the men, McGillivray asked Pickens to let him know whether the men deserved the favor. "You," he said, "I know will not deceive me. . . ."[22]

Heavy rains throughout January and February sent the streams out of their banks and flooded the lowlands, making travel practically impossible, so Pickens was not surprised that he had not received a reply from McGillivray to his letter of December 24.[23]

One day, however, toward the latter part of February as he was supervising work on the house he was building for his family at Hopewell, he saw an Indian horseman come out of the woods and ride down toward the river. At the water's edge he signaled for permission to cross the stream. Calling to Dick, the General sent a flat over for him.

At the landing the Indian handed the General a letter from McGillivray.[24] Inside the house, Pickens opened the letter while the half-frozen messenger squatted before the roaring fire and warmed himself.

Apologizing for the delay in answering Pickens' demand for satisfaction for the recent killings within the borders of South Carolina, the chief denied that any parties of Creeks or Seminoles had been out at the time of the attack. The Creeks, in a council meeting, had resolved on hostilities only after the Georgians had refused to give satisfaction for the Indians they had killed and had threatened to drive the Indians from their lands.[24]

McGillivray said he had explained to the warriors that the nation was on "good terms of friendship" with the South Carolinians. He particularly ordered that no party seeking revenge should cross the border into that state, and that he had no reason to suspect he had been disobeyed.[24]

On the contrary he believed that the damage had come from the General's own quarters. In fact, during the winter a Cherokee warrior had told him that most of his nation wanted war with the whites and that some of the villages had continued secretly to kill the whites near Tugaloo. Since many Cherokees spoke Creek, it was possible that they had committed the atrocities and then retreated to the Creek Nation, thus making it appear that the Creeks were the aggressors.[24]

The Creeks, McGillivray claimed, had always obeyed his orders not to molest women and children, but the Georgians could make no such claims, for they had adopted savage warfare in all its horrible aspects. Recently, he said, a party of Georgians had killed a man and woman by flaying them alive. And at Coker's Creek on the Oconee, an Indian hunting camp had been surprised, and eleven men, women, and children killed by the white men. The bodies of pregnant women had been ripped open and other indignities, too brutal to mention, had been perpetrated on the dead.[24]

Three weeks before he had read in a Georgia newspaper of the steps Congress had taken. McGillivray regretted that Pickens had not told him "that that good and honest man," Mr. White, had been appointed to meet with them. It was on his recommendation that Congress used its authority to effect an understanding between the Creek Nation and the State of Georgia. "No doubt," he said, "we shall be satisfied in our just claims. I feel a satisfaction at the prospect that appears of my being able to bury deep the red hatchet of war with honor after a long and important struggle."[24] However, the chief warned that his expression of satisfaction at the prospect of the close of the war did not stem from his fear of any consequences that might arise.[24]

Raising his eyes from the letter, the General studied the inscrutible face of the squatting messenger. Messenger or spy? He wondered. Then he turned back to the letter which he held in his long, lean fingers.

"Ive had a plan suggested to me which in its consequences must have kindled anew the flames of war all through the South and may reach farther than I yet think," he read. "My final determination is expected on the 20th of June next. All depends on the intended treaty with us which must be held here. If I obtain the justice I demand, it goes no farther and our enemies will have cause for unfeigned joy for their critical escape, but if the contrary should be the case, we shall stand justified by the Almighty Ruler of the World and all men for the part we shall then take and the consequent loss and devastation will not be imparted to us. But I have great expectations that from the interposition of Congress all will go as we wish. Other proffers may be disregarded, but this may be believed that I am disgusted at the humiliating life I have hitherto been engaged in from the early period of nineteen years of age in '77. I wish to devote the remainder of my life if possible to more calm and agreeable pastimes.[24]

"I can never write you a short letter. It is always extremely agreeable to me to hear from you and much [more] so if I can render you a service."[24]

The General folded the letter carefully and put it in his pocket. For a long while he stood looking into the fire, his mind fixed on the veiled threat. . . . A plan suggested to Alexander McGillivray. What plan? A plan fostered by the Spaniards at Pensacola? Or was it some diabolical plot festering in the mind of the cunning half-breed?

Unable to get satisfaction from McGillivray, Pickens met George Mathews at Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River, on March 29, 1788. After due consideration, a letter was sent to McGillivray reminding him that his promises to Mr. White, that depredation would not be committed against the citizens of the states, had been violated. As United States commissioners, they would like to meet a deputation of headmen and warriors to discuss complaints or causes that led to the violation and to prevent further shedding of innocent blood. It was the stated desire of the commissioners to carry out the wishes of Congress whereby every nation desiring friendship with the United States government might be assured of peace based upon "just, reasonable, and equitable principles."[25]

Arrangements were made for George Whitfield, a man of discretion who had the confidence of the commissioners and was known by the Indians, to act as messenger. He was instructed to make certain recommendations to McGillivray and to inform him that action taken by the Assembly of Georgia had given Congress all lands "from the 31st degree of latitude to the confluence of the Apalachacola or Chatahuche River then due North 140 miles then due west to the Mississippi."[26]

The commissioners also felt that it would not be amiss for Mr. Whitfield to point out to the Creeks "the precarious situation of persons possessing property under the Spanish government, particularly where those persons were not natives." On the other hand he was urged to take advantage of the opportunity and speak to every "honest man, especially Messrs. Moore, Panton, and McGillivray," of the advantages of becoming citizens of the United States.[26]

Armed with the "talk" to McGillivray and the headmen, Whitfield set out from Hopewell on April 16 for the Creek Nation. Pickens accompanied him as far as the first Cherokee town, where he secured a headman to act as Whitfield's guide.[27]

Upon Pickens' return to Long Canes, he reported to Governor Pinckney that he did not expect Whitfield back before the 10th of June. He had learned from the Cherokees that McGillivray had ordered the Creeks to cease hostilities and return to their villages, but he said he would not be surprised to hear of some more reprisals as he understood the whites were planting corn in the disputed area.[28]

"Till we have strength and Energy in Government," Pickens wrote, "a permanent peace between us and our Red Brethren can hardly be Expected . . . . You may be assured that I will transmit you the particulars as we proceed in this business and will be obliged to you for your instructions and guidance through this disagreeable business. I call it disagreeable as I know many differ from me in their ideas respecting the claim of the Indians—and the Right of Congress to settle the Boundary between an independent nation of Indians and any of the United States, and that no State has a legislative right to take the lands belonging to any nation or tribe of Indians, not members of the State, but only through the medium of Congress and then only by Treaty or Conquest—though they are within the Chartored limits of the State—those are the points which will be the grait matters of debate in the Treaty."[28]

In due time, McGillivray from his seat at Little Tallassee replied to the commissioners' letter of March 29. The Creek chief made it clear that before he agreed to meet for a conference on terms that tied up Creek lands, he would have to see a guarantee that the people of Georgia would retire from the Oconee lands to within the colonial limits of Georgia. Also he would have to be assured that the Georgians would abide by the results of the proposed negotiations.[29]

"I observe," he continued, "the threat held out by Congress and by you . . . that the force of the Union may be called out to punish us if we do not submit to such terms as they think just and reasonable. On this occasion I will only observe that if it were . . . possible for them to divest themselves entirely of all prejudice, which will hang about the best of most upright [men] when they come to judge on matters in which they are interested, or if our dispute with the Georgians were a matter in which no part of the Union had any concern, there are few tribunals to whom I would sooner submit our cause to than I would to that honorable body. But as neither of these can be the case and as there may be points in which we shall differ before the other States draws the sword against a people who have given no cause or quarrel with them they ought to recollect that the opinion of one nation in their concerns with another about matters of equity and right does not at all times hit the general sense of mankind and they ought to be well assured that they have this on their side before they ressolve to attempt the extermination of the first inhabitants of this country. A contest which may be doubtful & which had better be avoided by not seeking to deprive us of lands, which have been ours from the beginning of time, the possession of which is absolutely necessary to our subsistence."[29]

As for the two white men who had been killed the summer before, McGillivray said they had been killed for satisfaction for the two Creeks killed by the Georgians earlier in the year. Shortly after the incident, a party of Georgians met and killed thirteen Indian hunters from Cussetah in retaliation, a circumstance which, McGillivray declared, he left to the United States commissioners and to the world to admit or condemn.[29]

In conclusion McGillivray reiterated his hope that the measures he had recommended would be adopted in order that all obstacles toward an effectual peace might be removed. In which event the meeting might be held in "September next at General Pickens' place near Seneca."[29]

Late in June, Pickens was notified that the governor of Georgia had set September 15 and the home of Lachlan Cleveland on the Georgia side of the Tugaloo River as the time and place for the conference with the Creeks.[30] But when Whitfield arrived at Hopewell from the Creek Nation on June 29, he told Pickens that he did not believe the Creeks would consent to meet on Georgia soil, although he had been well received by the Indians and they had expressed a desire for peace.[30]

Nevertheless, Commissioners Pickens, Mathews, and Winn met on July 16 to make arrangements for the conference. A message was sent to McGillivray and his headmen requesting their presence.

Replying to the commissioners' letter, McGillivray expressed surprise that the grounds on which the Creeks had agreed to meet had been ignored. "When I next meet the chiefs, which will be early in September, I will explain to them the contents of your letter. Meantime I answer you as well knowing that they will not consent to treat until they see their requisition enforced."[31]

As it was apparent to the commissioners that McGillivray had no intention of attending the meeting under the existing circumstances, they sent another letter to him suggesting that the conference be postponed six or eight months until the spring of 1789.[32]

McGillivray agreed to the postponement but bemoaned the fact that a truce had not been proclaimed by Georgia. Hunting camps, he said, were still being plundered, and recently a Coweta Indian had found a threatening letter addressed to him, fastened to a tree near the Flint River. The message written with gun powder and signed by James Alexander warned the Creeks that they need not expect peace until satisfaction had been given the Georgians for damages and grievances. Under such conditions, McGillivray said, "I foresee great difficulty in the attempt to preserve strict suspension of hostilities and can only assure you that we shall regulate ourselves by the conduct of the Georgians. . . ."[33]

Besides the Creek difficulties, Pickens had recently heard of unrest among the Cherokees, which McGillivray's letter confirmed. Numbers of Cherokees, complaining of hostilities committed by the Americans, were taking refuge with the Creeks. "Such acts of violence committed at the time Congress through you is holding out to the whole nations and tribes professions of the most friendly nature makes it appear to all that such professions are only deceitful snares to lull them into security whereby the Americans may the more easily destroy them. Be not offended, gentlemen, at the remark," McGillivray said, " 'tis true that it is universal through the Indians."[33]

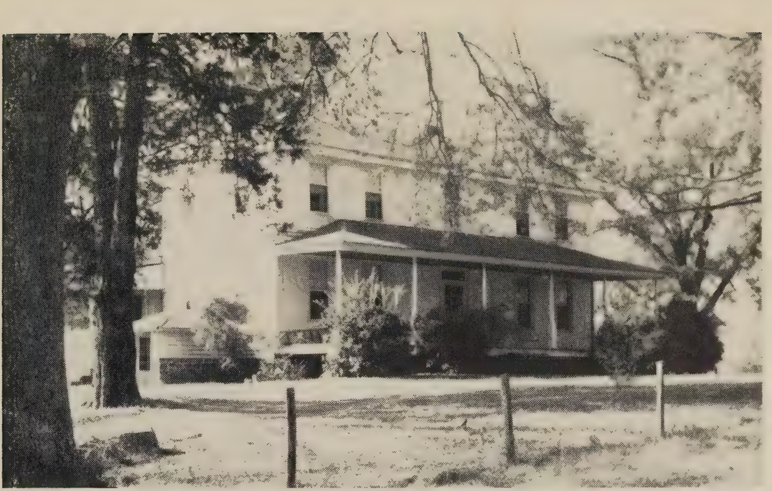
The great distances that separated the homes of the commissioners had delayed an answer to McGillivray's letters of August 12 and September 13. Therefore, it was not until November 27 that Richard Winn and George Mathews arrived at Hopewell where the General, during the summer, had moved his family.[34] The following morning, the commissioners met in the new two-story house overlooking the Keowee River and drafted a reply to the chief's letters.[35]

"Give us leave," they wrote, "to tell you that everything in our power has been done in order to forward a treaty, and under the authority of Congress to give you full and ample redress in what concerns your territory. At the same time we must observe that that honorable body will not lose sight of doing equal justice to the State of Georgia whose claim to what you call disputed lands is confirmed by three different treaties signed by your chief headmen and warriors; therefore, we earnestly recommend [that] you and the chiefs seriously consider under these circumstances how impossible it is for us to comply with your requisition relative to removing the people from the Oconee land. This can only be the business of the treaty after a full investigation of the right of the claim.[35]

"In answer to your last when you so pointedly attacked the body under whom we have the honor to act we cannot be silent least it should be twisted into a conviction of guilt, narrow and illiberal must be that mind which could for a moment suppose that Congress after withstanding one of the greatest powers of Europe with her allies, together with almost the whole Indian tribes combined, should at this day have recourse to base artifice in order to accomplish the ruin of a few Indian tribes while she is enjoying the blessings of peace at home and an honorable name among the nations of the world.[35]

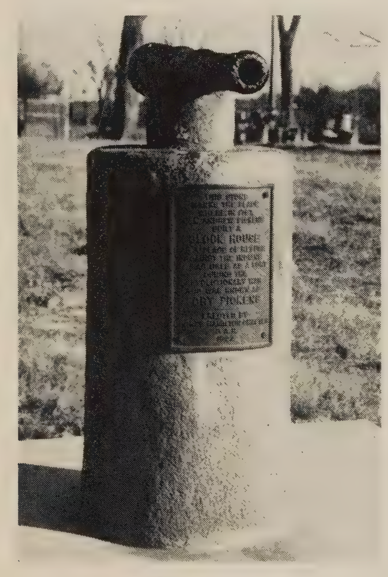
"We have already enclosed you the Governor of Georgia's proclamation dated July 31st last for a truce of arms which has been as strictly adherred to as possible and everything that has happened in violation of it had you been more explicit and mentioned the time and place . . . strict inquiry might have been made and the offenders punished."[35]

The commissioners then pointed out that if they took the same view of the Indians' conduct, they would have more right to complain, since daily reports came to them of cruel depredations committed by the Creeks on the Georgians. They had been reliably informed that the man named Alexander, to whom the chief referred, was pursuing a party of Creeks who had stolen twelve horses from Green County, notwithstanding the fact that the commissioners had had every assurance that hostilities would cease. A list of counties suffering similar hostilities had been forwarded to them



HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE

General Pickens built a "lodge" before completing the family home on the Keowee River. This home was later occupied by his son, Governor Andrew Pickens, and grandson, Governor Francis Pickens. It is now on the campus at Clemson College. The original log core has been weather-boarded. Picture courtesy of James F. Miles.



SITE OF BLOCKHOUSE, ABBEVILLE

The Revolutionary cannon was found near the remains of the Pickens Blockhouse and mounted in concrete as a memorial. Photograph by T. Hemphill Smith, Abbeville.

OLD STONE CHURCH NEAR PENDLETON

Pickens was one of the elders responsible for establishing this church. The present structure (1802) replaced a log building that had been burned in the 1790's. Pickens is buried in the graveyard near the church. Photograph by Carl Julien in *Beneath So Kind a Sky* (Julien and Milling), USC Press.

by Governor Handley of Georgia. Furthermore, they informed McGillivray, a pair of dun geldings had been taken from General Martin's plantation at the time he was acting under congressional appointment as agent for the Cherokees.[35]

Despite their disappointment that another attempt to meet the wily chief had failed, the commissioners set June 8, 1789, for another meeting at the previously appointed place. They asked McGillivray to confer with the headmen and warriors and give them a "decisive answer" as soon as possible.[35]

After the letter was signed and sealed, it was given to Terrapin Warrior, a Cherokee chief, who had agreed to deliver it to McGillivray.[36]

As if the trouble with the Creeks were not enough to plague the commissioners, hostilities along the North Carolina frontier were increasing between the white inhabitants of that state and the newly founded State of Franklin on one hand and the Cherokees on the other. As a result uneasiness pervaded that nation.

In the meantime, Pickens received word that a Mr. Peterkin, a white South Carolinian, had been killed in February by a party of Cherokee warriors. Although wishing to maintain friendly relations with the nation, Pickens realized that firm measures must be taken to prevent the spread of hostilities into his own state. He dispatched a messenger to Jobber's Son demanding that the murderers be put to death. When weeks passed and no reply came, Pickens sent another message to the chief and threatened to stop all supplies going into the Nation unless he received satisfaction.[37]

A short time later, Jobber's Son acknowledged receipt of the letters and assured Pickens that his talks had a great influence on the Cherokees. When the messages were received he said, he called the headmen and warriors together "at the beloved town of Ushnare" where they agreed that the guilty party should be put to death for killing Mr. Peterkin. "We hope," he said, "when you hear of his death . . . you will be satisfied and let ammunition and goods come to us as usual for want of it prevents us from hunting. . . ."[38]

In other parts of the nation dissatisfaction and hostilities were spreading. Fearing the encroachment of the people of Franklin, Hanging Maw and the Prince of Notoly, alias Black Dog, protested that the whites were moving in and taking their lands. A talk was sent to Pickens asking him to write John Sevier not to spoil their towns as he had others over the hills. "I hope," they said, "you will see us justice done as they [the people of Franklin] want to drive us off our lands and livings after we have planted. In such a case many of us will perish, but I hope I shan't be forced to give up our towns to them. . . . I hear, brother, that you intend coming against some part of our nation, but I live in hopes that you won't kill me."[39]

Pickens assured the chiefs that he had no intention of attacking the Cherokees. Furthermore, he said he would notify Governor Pinckney of their distress and promised that measures would be taken to "do them justice."[40]

In an effort to show the Cherokees that South Carolina was friendly and thereby prevent them from joining the Creeks, Pickens went before the county court in session at Abbeville and asked that body to join him in an "address" of friendship to the people who lived near the Nolechucky, French Broad, and Holstein rivers. The messages were accordingly drafted and dispatched.[40]

Pickens sent a copy to Governor Pinckney and told him that he thought he left nothing undone to promote peace. "But the business," he said, "ought to have been taken up by another hand before this time which I am sorry to say does not come forward as I . . . wish. The first of this month there was a Cherokee Indian killed on the Twelve Mile River about twelve miles from Hopewell. The person who killed him is not yet apprehended, but I hope he will be in a few days; I have sent word to the Indians letting them know what is done. I have told them that the man should be apprehended and tried by our law the same as if he had killed a white man and if found guilty I made no doubt would suffer death."[40]

Before the differences could be settled, a party of Creeks, Cherokees, and renegade whites attacked a fort over the mountains. Ten men were killed and twenty-seven women and children were made prisoners. At Pickens' protest, the Cherokee chiefs assured him that as soon as their dispute with the "over-the-mountain" people was settled, the prisoners would be sent to Hopewell.[41]

While negotiations were underway, Colonel Sevier led a party into a Cherokee town when the men were away hunting. They plundered the town and captured twenty-nine women and children. As a result of this retaliation, everything was thrown into confusion and had it not been for the untiring exertion of Andrew Pickens and others a general war might have followed.[42]

On December 8, 1788, Pickens wrote to Thomas Pinckney that the Cherokees had shown a uniformly peaceable disposition. On the whole he felt that matters with the Creeks and Cherokees were not alarming unless the people over the mountains continued to "prosecute their hostile intentions." He had reliable information that there were a number of white rascals among the two tribes, and he believed they were responsible for most of the robberies committed on the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina since the suspension of hostilities between the Georgians and the Creeks. The inhabitants of the exposed quarters were instructed to guard against incursions as best they could until a treaty with the Creeks could be effected.[43]

CHAPTER XVI

Rock Landing and the Treaty of New York

CONGRESS WAS disappointed at the failure of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Creeks. When their terms expired, Pickens was the only one of the three returned. Henry Osborn and John Steele were named to serve with him. Although his straightforward honesty and patience had been sorely tried, Pickens was ready to try once more to end the strife between the Creeks and Georgians.[1] For several months thereafter he and Osborn were constantly on the frontier trying to arrange a meeting with McGillivray and a delegation from the entire nation.[2]

From Hopewell, on April 20, 1789, Pickens and Osborn wrote McGillivray and chiefs of the Creek Nation: "We last year appointed a time and place for holding a treaty with you to establish a lasting peace between you and us, that we might become one people. You all know the reasons why it was not held at that time.

"We now send you a talk, inviting you to a treaty on your bank of the Oconee River at Rock Landing. We wished to meet you at that place on the 8th of June, but as that day is so near at hand you might not get notice, we therefore, shall expect to meet you on the 20th of June. We have changed the place of meeting from that of last year so that none of you should have reason to complain. It is on your own ground and on that land we wish to renew our former trade and friendships and to remove everything that has blinded the path between you and us.

"We are now governed by a president who is like the old king over the great water; he commands all the warriors of the thirteen great Fires. He will have regard to the welfare of the Indians, and when peace shall be established, he will be your father and you will be his children, so that none shall dare to do you harm.

"We know that lands have been the cause of disputes between you and the white people; but we now tell you that we want no grants; our object is to make a peace and to unite us all under our great chief and president, who is father and protector of all the white people. Attend to what we say. Our traders are very rich, and have houses full of such goods as you would get in former days; it is our wish that you should trade with them and they with you, in strict fellowship.

"Our brother, George Galphin, will carry you this talk; listen to him; he will tell you nothing but truth from us. Send us your answer by him."

The same day, Pickens and Osborn sent a message to George Walton who had succeeded Handley as governor of Georgia, and told him that, since the governor of North Carolina had invited the Cherokees to a treaty at the French Broad River on May 25, they had taken the liberty of asking the Creeks to meet them at Rock Landing, on June 20. Consequently, they would be at Augusta, on the 13th, en route. In view of instructions from Congress, they asked for supplies of provisions, which would be received as part of that state's quota, and a hundred militiamen as a guard for the stores.[3]

As soon as the letters were dispatched, the commissioners left for North Carolina to negotiate with the Cherokees, fearing that they were about to join the Creeks. Arriving at the Upper War Ford on the French Broad River on May 25, Pickens and Osborn were joined by John Steele, the other commissioner.[4]

They waited there until June 7, but when the Cherokees did not appear, the commissioners wrote to the headmen, chiefs, and warriors of the Cherokee Nation that they had gone to the designated place and found no delegates from the Cherokees. Since the meeting with the Creeks was scheduled for the 20th, they could not stay; therefore, it was necessary that the treaty with the Cherokees be postponed until a later date.

"We are sorry," they wrote, "to find that the people of the Cumberland have reason to complain. Many of those people have been killed by Indians. You all know that the people of the Cumberland make no encroachments upon your lands; the line was settled at Seneca, and the people of Cumberland do not go over it. We hope none of your people are concerned in such mischief, as it would interrupt the good intentions of Congress toward your people. We expect you to put a stop to all such proceedings against any of our people until we meet you in treaty, when we have no doubt of settling all matters to your satisfaction. In token of our friendship, we send you a string of white beads."

On the return trip, Pickens and Osborn met several Cherokee headmen. They evaded the General's questions, but assured him that no hostilities would be committed by any of their people.[5]

Reaching Hopewell, the travelers were welcomed by Becky and the children. The next morning after a hasty consultation with his overseer, Pickens and Osborn set out on fresh horses to keep their appointment with the Creeks.[6]

At Rock Landing they were met by George Galphin with a message from McGillivray saying "owing to the commissioner's letter of last winter" he had decided to postpone the meeting since some of the warriors were in arms, having gone out before the invitation had been received. Several people had been killed, and he believed that a few months should pass to allow minds to cool. Furthermore, he said he was apprehensive that demands would be made to which the Creeks could not agree; therefore, he would like to know upon what grounds the commissioners intended to conduct the treaty.

A few days later, Pickens and Osborn wrote to the headmen, chiefs, and warriors of the Creek Nation that they were sorry the Indian representatives had been unable to join them, but their reasons were satisfactory. In view of the fact that they had failed to appear, he and Osborn had consulted "your beloved man [Galphin]" and had set September 15 as the date for the meeting with the Creeks. They expressed the wish that the delegates be punctual in order that all disputes might be settled.[7] As a further mark of their good intentions, the commissioners asked that all prisoners be sent to the Rock Landing as soon as possible where one of the commissioners would remain to receive them.

"We have strictly charged our people not to cross over to your side of the Oconee, and we expect your people will not come on this side, except at this place, before the time for holding the treaty." The message ended with the expectation that the Creeks should be prohibited from committing any kind of depredation against the whites so that peace might be preserved and that they might meet at the appointed time as friends and brothers.

The commissioners also gave Galphin a personal letter to McGillivray in which they expressed regrets at his not having been able to meet them, but they hoped that nothing would prevent his being present on September 15 when they wanted to have a private conversation with him and Galphin prior to the public talks. They believed all matters could be settled between them, "as will make the treaty both easy and agreeable to all parties."[8]

The following day in a letter to President Washington, Pickens and Osborn explained the cause of the failure of the Cherokee meeting and the postponement of the Creek treaty. They added, "We are happy to inform your Excellency, from good authority, that the Creeks are very generally disposed for peace. We are well assured that all the headmen of that nation, with upwards of 2,000 Indians, will attend the treaty in September and we have the fairest prospect of establishing a permanent peace with the Creeks on such terms as will be pleasing to the Indians, satisfactory to the State of Georgia, and honorable to the Union.

"In justice to the State of Georgia, we cannot conclude this letter without expressing our entire satisfaction in the conduct of her government; they have cheerfully advanced several thousand dollars to enable us to meet a large body of Indians, in a manner suitable to the occasion."[9]

Nor was their confidence unfounded. The Governor of Georgia and the council, hoping for success at the conference, had issued an order that no one would be permitted to approach the treaty ground or cross over the Oconee to the south side during the sessions or within ten days thereafter, without special permission from the commissioners. Any person who disobeyed the order would be severely punished.[10]

However, while Pickens and Osborn worked for a just peace for the Creeks as well as the Georgians, the unpredictable McGillivray, who wished to stand in with the Spaniards, could not refrain from gloating over the Federal commissioners in a letter to Panton:[11] "Galphin, whom I sent to Rock Landing with a talk declining the treaty of June last, returned a fortnight since, and I find that they [Pickens and Osborn] are resolved upon making a treaty. In order to accommodate us, the commissioners are complaisant enough to postpone it till the 15th of next month, and one of them, the late Chief Justice Osborn, remains all the time at Rock Landing. Pickens returned for the Cherokee treaty; but in this I took measures to disappoint him, for those chiefs would not meet. In this do you not see my cause of triumph in bringing these conquerors of the Old, and masters of the New World, as they call themselves, to bend and supplicate for peace at the feet of a people whom shortly before they despised and marked out for destruction."[12]

Meanwhile, in New York Congress had received complaints from McGillivray and James White, the Indian superintendent of the Lower Creeks, objecting to the acts of commissioners. To remove any obstacle that might prevent a treaty, President Washington appointed David Humphreys, General Benjamin Lincoln, and Cyrus Griffin to replace Pickens, Osborn, and Steele.[13] Bearing letters from Secretary Knox to the commissioners, these men immediately proceeded by boat to Augusta with orders to take over the negotiations upon their arrival at Rock Landing. Before they left New York, however, they had been told that if they found the services of Pickens and Osborn necessary, "it would be proper to use them." They were also instructed to get invoices of all goods the former commissioners left at Hopewell and an account of the money received from the states of Georgia and South Carolina.[14]

Previously a letter had been sent to Pickens and Osborn telling them of the situation and stating the expected day of arrival of the new commissioners at Augusta. Across the river, the Indians, some of whom had been in their camp for two weeks, were growing impatient at the delay. Unable to treat with them, Pickens dispatched a letter to Augusta to be given to the new commissioners upon their arrival, urging them to hasten to the treaty site. Pickens spared no effort to keep the Creeks in good humor, but McGillivray informed him that they would remain no longer than the following Thursday.

When the commissioners reached Augusta on September 17, they found Pickens' letter waiting for them. They immediately resumed their journey by land. The roads were impassable; when the axle of their carriage broke, Humphreys and Lincoln mounted two of the horses and rode through the night, reaching their destination in the early morning.[15] Pickens immediately notified McGillivray of their arrival.[16]

The Creek chief, who with two thousand warriors was encamped across the river, sent a message to Lincoln congratulating the commissioners on their safe journey. He also extended an invitation to them to be present at the ceremony of the *Black Drink* after which he said he should like to confer with them privately.[17]

Aware of the significance of the invitation and knowing that none but a proven warrior was allowed to partake of the drink in council, the commissioners realized that they as a body were not qualified to participate and replied, "General Lincoln and General Pickens will have the pleasure of attending this forenoon at your Black Drink."[18]

Preceding the ceremony, the new commissioners asked Pickens and Osborn to stay on to advise them and informed them of the contents of the new treaty. "The high-minded Pickens" objected to the terms which he considered were "unaccompanied with a solitary equivalent and exhibited an extremely niggardly spirit."[19] A treaty he said which took so much from the Indians and granted so little in return was not fair, nor would it be acceptable to the Creeks. The Indians would never allow the Oconee lands which the Georgians were cultivating, he argued, to remain in their possession unless some compensation were made. Understanding the sagacity of Pickens, the new commissioners refused to accept his advice.[20]

Several days passed. On the morning of June 24, McGillivray invited the commissioners to another Black Drink ceremony, after which he informed them the conference would begin. At the appointed time the commissioners arrived and were conducted to the square in pomp and apparent friendship.[21]

Following the ceremony, the New York commissioners spoke to the Indians while Pickens and Osborn looked on. General Lincoln presented McGillivray with a copy of the treaty which stipulated that: the boundaries defined in the former treaties should remain unchanged; the United States would guarantee the territory west of those boundaries forever; free trade should be established with the Indians from ports on the Altamaha River, through which they could import and export upon the same terms as the citizens of the United States; and all slaves, horses, goods, and American citizens taken by the Indians should be returned.[22]

Glancing at the paper, McGillivray promised to give an answer that evening or the next morning. But morning came and there was no word. One of the commissioners asked Pickens to ride over to the Indian encampment with him. The commissioner and McGillivray talked together privately for some time. Scarcely an hour after he and Pickens had returned to their headquarters, word was received that McGillivray and the Upper Creeks had moved their camp about five miles away. The next morning a delegation of Lower Creeks crossed the river to the commissioners' quarters and told them that during the night McGillivray and his party had broken camp and set out for the nation. But, as it was their wish to be at peace, they had come to take the white man by the hand before they went away.

Dismayed at this turn of events, Lincoln asked Pickens to go after McGillivray and persuade him to return. Almost immediately Pickens was in the saddle; accompanied by Colonel Few, he overtook the Creeks on the other side of the Ocmulgee River. McGillivray received them politely, but refused to return, saying that a restitution of territory and hunting grounds was not to be the basis of a treaty between them. He had resolved to go back to the nation and postpone all talks until the following spring.[23] But he promised Pickens that his people would commit no depredations on any of the frontiers until they heard from him.[24]

Realizing that they also had failed to bring about a treaty with the Creeks, the New York commissioners concluded the conference. They gave Pickens and Osborn a letter enclosing Secretary Knox's inquiry about the accounts at the Hopewell treaties. Somewhat surprised that Knox had not received their report, Pickens and Osborn wrote the New York commissioners and enclosed copies of the correspondence (April 20 and June 6, 1789) to and from Gervais of Charleston along with an account of appropriations and expenditures of monies received from South Carolina and Georgia. The vouchers, they said, were ready for their inspection, but they knew of no goods left at Hopewell.

Before breaking camp, Lincoln wrote Knox that he regretted to inform him that "the parties have separated without forming a treaty." Thus the promises of big words and high hopes of the Congress and the President ended.

Pickens accompanied Lincoln, Humphreys, and Griffin to Augusta. Before sailing for New York, the disappointed commissioners wrote a letter to the Cherokees urging them not to listen to advice of bad men and interrupt the truce that had been concluded between their nation and the North Carolinians.[25]

At the river dock Andrew Pickens, bronzed and lean, bade them goodbye as they boarded the ship for the return trip to New York. Watching the boat swing into the channel, a wry smile crossed the General's face. Another set of commissioners had been outwitted by the half-breed Creek chief. He mounted his horse and turned his face toward the frontier.

President Washington's first impulse on the return of the commissioners to New York was to send an army against the Creeks and compel them to relinquish the Oconee lands. But when he found that the estimated cost of such an invasion would be fifteen million dollars, he abandoned the idea, fearing the government could not stand the financial strain while it was still struggling with debts incurred during the Revolution.

Although nearly five years of attempted negotiations with the Creeks had broken down, the President believed that the difficulties could be settled if he could see McGillivray. He dispatched Colonel Marinus Willett as a secret agent to visit the Creek Nation and if possible bring the chief back to New York with him. He was instructed to keep his mission a secret from everyone except Pickens in whom the President expressed great confidence.

Willett arrived at Hopewell on April 30, 1790, and there on the bluffs of the Keowee, he spent several days enjoying the hospitality of his host. When he was ready to resume his journey, Pickens furnished him with an Indian guide and two additional horses, and gave him letters of introduction to McGillivray and chiefs through whose territory he would pass.

At the village of Newcoheta, Willett met Thomas Gogg, one of the men to whom Pickens had written. Gogg accompanied him to Pine Log where he was presented to Yellow Bird, who received him hospitably. At the refuge town of Eustenaree, where the lawbreakers were accustomed to flee, since no blood could be shed within its sacred bounds, he received a warm welcome, thanks to the General's letter.[26]

At little Tallassee, Willett presented Pickens' letter to McGillivray. Although the Creek chief had opposed him in his efforts to bring about peace, he respected Pickens and had confidence in his word. Once he had told the General that if he would remain in South Carolina, he, McGillivray, could whip the Georgians on the bank of the Oconee with one hand and raise corn on the opposite side with the other.[27] Therefore, out of respect for the great white warrior, Willett was given a courteous hearing and was thereby able to persuade McGillivray to visit the President.[28]

Around the first of June, the party arrived at Hopewell. Pickens was attending the State Convention in Columbia,[29] but Mrs. Pickens made Willett and McGillivray welcome as they waited for the other members of their party.[30] When the delegation was complete, they rode away—some on horseback, others in wagons, and Willett alone in a sulky.[31]

All along the route the party attracted widespread attention. In New York, President Washington received the delegation with courtesy and consideration. Secretary Knox, with the consent of the Senate, was appointed to negotiate with McGillivray, and on August 7 a treaty was concluded and ratified. All the lands south and west of the Oconee, including the tract claimed by Georgia, were guaranteed to the Creeks, whereas the Creeks resigned all pretensions to any lands north and east of the river, and acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States.[32]

McGillivray, however, remained as crafty as ever, and in later years a secret treaty between the Creek chief and President Washington came to light. "It provided that, after two years from date, the commerce of the Creek Nation should be carried on through the ports of the United States. Heretofore, the commerce had been in the hands of a British company, made their importations from England into Spanish ports, and in the meantime through the present channels; that the chiefs of the Ocfuskees, Tookabachas, Tallassees, Cowetas, and the Seminole nation, should be paid annually by the United States, one hundred dollars each and be furnished with handsome gold medals; that Alexander McGillivray should be constituted an agent of the United States, with the rank of a Brigadier General, and the pay of $1200 per annum; that the United States should feed, clothe, and educate Creek youths in the North, not exceeding four at one time."[33]

Early in 1791, to carry out the provisions of the treaty of New York, Andrew Ellicott, a surveyor from Pennsylvania, was appointed by the federal government to run the line between the Creeks and Georgia. He reached Rock Landing in May accompanied by James Seagrove, the Creek agent.[34]

Meanwhile, McGillivray, who had agreed to get the consent of the Indians to run the boundary, met with opposition from the Indians. The Creeks had no intention of giving up any of their territory without a fight.[35] On the other hand, the Georgians, under General Elijah Clark, believing that their rights had been violated, had begun settling on the land guaranteed to the Indians by the federal government. In such an atmosphere, Andrew Ellicott and Seagrove hesitated to proceed with the running of the boundary line.[36]

Into this complicated picture came the Cherokees. Dissatisfied with the treaty in which they claimed they had been forced under threats to cede lands to the United States, they went to General Pickens. They asked that their annuity be increased from a thousand to fifteen hundred dollars, and that certain white settlers who had come into the territory be ejected from their lands. Knowing that McGillivray had treated with President Washington, they felt that they too should confer with him. Unable to grant their demands on his own authority, Pickens took measures to expedite their plans. Armed with letters from General Pickens and Governor Pinckney, the Cherokee delegation, headed by Chief Nentouyah (Bloody Fellow), set out for the capital. They arrived in New York on December 28, 1791.[37]

President Washington received them courteously. After several days' conference with him, the Secretary of War, and the Senate, the Cherokees' demands were granted. Thus it was that on February 17, 1792, another treaty was drawn up in the nation's capital.

Although involved in frontier affairs, Pickens had not been out of touch with the internal affairs of his state.

On May 12, 1790, when the State Constitutional Convention met in Columbia, Pickens took his seat with the other delegates from the Up Country. His good friend, young Charles Pinckney, the thirty-two-year old governor of South Carolina, called the meeting to order.[38]

Section by section the new constitution was taken up and discussed, voted on, and passed. But when the age-old question of political equality of the Up Country with the Low Country came up, tempers flared, and the Low Country delegates openly accused the governor of being a traitor, calling him Black Guard Charlie.[39]

After much debate a compromise was worked out and the constitution was ratified on June 3, 1790.[40] Representation for the Up Country was increased about sixty-seven per cent in the House of Representatives and a little less in the State Senate. Although not satisfied, the Up Country accepted the gain for the time being. As a further concession, the new constitution abolished the privileges of the first-born child and granted complete religious equality.[41]

Even though Pickens had been engaged in Indian and legislative affairs and served as major general of the first division of the South Carolina militia, there were other matters that occupied his time. In 1789 he was one of a committee appointed to locate a courthouse for the recently formed Pendleton District. The Apex Cession of 1777 had been divided into Greenville and Pendleton Districts.[42] A woodland was purchased from Isaac Lynch for a site.[42] The two districts formed what was known as a court district and was called Washington. For the site of the seat of government, Charles C. Pinckney and his wife deeded sixty-five acres to the committee composed of General Pickens, Colonel Robert Anderson, Captain Robert Maxwell, John Bowen, Major John Ford, and John Hallums.[43] The plans were completed in 1789, but the survey and plat were not made until July 1, 1792. At first the new village was named Rockville, but was changed to Pickensville, probably through the influence of Pinckney, who was a great friend of the General.[44] At a later date Pickens presided as one of five justices over the quarterly term of court held there.[45]

In 1790 the first United States census recorded two males under sixteen years of age, six females, including his wife, and thirty-three slaves in the household of General Andrew Pickens.[46] Perhaps the most exciting news of the year for the family as a whole was that Ezekiel had delivered the valedictory address for his class at the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.[47]

CHAPTER XVII

The Nashville Conference

INDIAN DEPREDATIONS and threats of war continued. Rumors that the Cherokees were plotting with the Creeks against the whites thoroughly alarmed Governor Pinckney and he wrote President Washington on February 8, 1792, that he wanted General Pickens put in charge of defense.[1]

"I know no man," he said, "whom I recommend to you as [I do] General Pickens. . . . We are acquainted with his influence among the Indians and his knowledge of their affairs, and know that his modesty is so great that he rather wishes to retire from the public view than court its favors or employments. As he therefore will never solicit to offer himself, it is a duty for us, who know his consequence among the Southern Indians, to bring him forward to your view should his services be necessary, which I hope will not be the case. . . ."[1]

The President replied that he would not be unmindful of Governor Pinckney's recommendation. On April 21, 1792, his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, wrote to Andrew Pickens that hostile Indians north of the Ohio River were endeavoring to incite the Southern Indians to join them and that William Blount, the recently appointed governor of the Southwest Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern district, had been instructed to meet with the Chickasaws and Choctaws to persuade them to join with the United States troops.

"The president of the United States, who is impressed with respect for your character," Knox wrote, "has directed me to invite you to be present at the treaty, in order that you influence may be used, not only to induce the Indians to acede to the proposition which may be made to them . . . but if they accept, that you should command them combinedly on the proposed expedition northwest of the Ohio.[2]

"The president of the United States," he continued, "upon mature reflection, has conceived that your influence over the Cherokees particularly, and the Southern Indians generally, would, if exerted at the present time, be peculiarly useful and important to your country. And the reputation you possess will not permit him to doubt, that, if it will be possible, you will not hesitate to undertake the object."

Unsealed, the letter had been enclosed in one to Blount in which the secretary told him that if the "war must proceed" it was President Washington's desire that General Pickens command the troops. He instructed Blount to forward the letter to Pickens and send the reply to Richmond by express to be taken from there by stage to New York. At the same time Knox notified the Creek agent, James Seagrove, that Pickens had been asked to command the forces.

Pickens wrote Blount that he would be at Knoxville on June 10, and added, "It has been my wish to observe the treaties, though the Cherokees have stolen more horses from the frontiers of this State these six months past than they have done for years. . . . While part profess peace, others kill and steal. The people, even the more exposed, would prefer an open war to such a situation. . . . A man would then know that when he saw an Indian, he saw an enemy and be prepared to act accordingly."[3]

Having dispatched his answer to Blount and Knox, the General made preparations for the trip. He wrote his friend William Hort, "You gave me a hint when last in town in your office that they wanted me to the nor'ward. It was far from my thoughts at the time of ever being asked there, and I presume as far from yours; however, a few days ago I had a long letter from the Secretary of War on that head, but I have too large a family and am getting too old for such active service. One request was to assist Governor Blount to negotiate some business at a treaty to be held at Nashville on the Cumberland, the 20th of June with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and the chiefs of the Cherokees—to which place I propose setting out for in a few days. This is a journey of upwards of 400 miles, great part of the way through mountains and dangerous wilderness. This, my friend, for my country. . . ."[4]

A few days later, accompanied by Dick and several Indian guides, Pickens set out on the long trip across the Cumberland Mountains to join William Blount and proceed to Nashville.[5] Following Indian trails through forests, over mountains, and across roaring streams, the wiry general reached the little settlement of Knoxville on June 10.[6]

The supply boats had not arrived, and while Pickens and Blount waited for them they were assailed by rumors that Indians from the lower towns had set out to attack them and to intercept the boats en route to Knoxville. Blount reacted by calling out a troop of cavalry. The boats arrived on July 5, and as soon as the goods were transferred to pack horses, Pickens, Blount, and the cavalry escort resumed their journey through the wilderness.

In Philadelphia, Knox and Washington were informed of the proposed attacks. Apprehensive for the safety of Pickens and Blount, the President wrote Thomas Jefferson telling him of his uneasiness about the Indians.

But even before the letter was written, Pickens and Blount had reached their destination. And on August 7, 1792, while the outside world anxiously awaited the outcome of the negotiations, the conference began.[7] Addressing a large body of Chickasaws and a small group of Choctaws, Blount said, "General Pickens was a great warrior against the British and against the red people in the late war. He is a beloved man of the President and attends here at his request. . . . It is now seven years since General Pickens and myself had the pleasure of seeing your nation in council at Hopewell in South Carolina when you formed a treaty with us."[8]

Holding a copy of the treaty in his hand, Blount told them that the object of the meeting was to strengthen the treaty and keep alive their friendship, and that as a token of their country's regard, he and General Pickens had been sent with valuable goods which they hoped the Indians would accept as proof of the sincere friendship of the United States.

The following day the chiefs delivered talks and questioned Pickens and Blount. Before the meeting adjourned they asked for a new map of the country, and Pickens promised to have one made.

The last day of the conference, General Pickens addressed the body. For a moment he stood quietly, his intent brown eyes sweeping the inscrutable faces before him. Speaking slowly and deliberately, he expressed his pleasure at seeing them again. "It is the wish of our Great Father, George Washington, as well as all your brothers here, to make you a great and happy people," he said, pausing to allow the warriors time to consider his words. "We will always look upon it that your enemies are our enemies, and ours, yours.

We know that you have been told that when you were invited here, you would be asked for land. You are now convinced to the contrary, and you will . . . be able to give the lie to such reports."

No other sound was heard as the warriors and chiefs listened to the man they had learned through the years to respect as they did few others. "What makes the president and ourselves unhappy," the General said, "is that it is with difficulty that trade can be extended by the United States to your country. These presents, sent you by the Great White Father, the President, were brought here with danger and difficulty . . . the path to and from this place, and [over] which your people and the traders would have to pass, is often bloodied by the enemy; to remove that difficulty, we wish, for the good of both parties, to have trade established at the mouth of Bear Creek, the place agreed upon by the treaty of Hopewell.

"I am apprehensive bad people will say we want not only to establish a post but form a settlement, but that is not true. Trade at that place will be most advantageous to you where, besides clothing and other necessities, arms and ammunition shall be kept in plenty. The people living south of you [the Spanish] supply you very sparingly; the President wishes to have all things in plenty and for you to be happy, and that you should be in a situation to defend yourselves against your enemies."

On August 10, after receiving strong assurances of peace and friendship, Pickens and Blount delivered the presents to the Indians. They also gave each chief a rifle. The Indians, in turn, presented them with a string of white beads and asked that it be forwarded to the President as a token of Piamingo's intended visit to the new capital, Philadelphia, in the spring.[9]

Upon Pickens' return to Knoxville, he wrote Secretary Knox that since he and Blount had not heard from General Wayne, the commander-in-chief of the American army, no attempt had been made to induce either the Chickasaws or Choctaws to join the United States against the Indians to the north and west. He thought they might be used to better advantage against the Creeks, who did not hesitate to rob and murder defenseless frontier citizens of the bordering states.[10]

Shortly after Andrew Pickens arrived home he received a letter from the Secretary of War. "Your favor of May 15th," Knox wrote, "was received on the 20th of June, and submitted to the president of the United States." The secretary assured Pickens that the President was highly gratified with the zeal in which he had left his private affairs to serve the public; if efforts to restore peace failed, the war would be pushed with vigor in the spring, in which case the President wanted Pickens to command the Indian allies.[11] General Pickens replied to Knox that he would be unable to serve in that capacity.

On September 12, Leonard Shaw, a student of Cherokee habits and an escort of friendly Cherokees, arrived at Hopewell with the news that four lower towns of the Cherokees on the Tennessee River, led by John Watts, had declared war.[12] A party of Cherokees and Creeks, he said, were to set out in October to attack Cumberland and the settlements near Knoxville.[13]

Pickens immediately dispatched a letter to General Robert Anderson, telling him of the situation. Then, having refused to command the troops himself, he advised Governor Pinckney: "I am too advanced in life to engage in the trouble and difficulty of military affairs, especially with the militia; and perhaps too long have neglected the interest of a large family. . . . Were I to venture an opinion respecting our Southern country, it would be this: Make immediate preparations for defense of the frontiers, and, as soon as possible, carry a vigorous campaign into the Creek country. This would convince the Southern Indians in general that we are able and determined to protect ourselves and would chastise their insolence. This might prevent the junction of more tribes against us than perhaps is now expected. It is vain to attempt treaties with the Creeks, or to make any offer to them until they are chastised by the arm of government. . . . I have just received information that two Indians, one a chief, from the four disaffected towns are on their way here, but what their business is, I know not."

The governor forwarded this letter to President Washington and told him that his high regard for General Pickens' opinion had prompted him to ask his advice on enlisting troops.

Governor Blount, not knowing that Pickens had already refused the command, urged Secretary Knox to have General

Pickens—"an unquestionably brave, prudent, and experienced officer in Indian warfare"—appointed to lead the Carolinians in the event of war with the Creeks.[14]

Early in 1793, a contingent under Captain John Beard crossed the Tennessee River in defiance of orders and surprised and killed a number of friendly Indians. This outrage, so disgraceful to the United States, was followed by others, and the southern territory was soon involved in war with the Cherokees. The border states called out militia to guard against retaliation along the frontiers.[15]

Although Pickens would not take command in the Indian war, he played an important role as an advisor in the councils of his country. At Hopewell, on April 28, he received word that the whole Creek Nation, except the Cussetahs, had declared war on the United States, and that Galphin and five hundred warriors were joining with the Seminoles to attack the southern part of Georgia. The General lost no time in notifying General Elijah Clark of the situation. The information, he said, led him to believe that the Indians "intend to make a blow all along the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina."[16]

Meanwhile, President Washington had asked Pickens to confer with him on a proposed expedition against the Creeks.[17] Accordingly, on June 11, 1793, Pickens left Charleston by boat for Philadelphia, bearing a letter from William Moultrie, who had succeeded Charles Pinckney as governor of South Carolina. Moultrie praised the General as a gentleman of great worth and integrity and one who was well acquainted with conditions in the Southern states, particularly regarding Indian affairs. Despite Pickens' refusal, Moultrie, like his predecessor, was anxious for him to command the army. "I know of no man," he wrote, "who is so proper to conduct this business as General Pickens." He then suggested that if an expedition were necessary against the Creeks "a special commission be given to General Pickens for that purpose, to prevent the other Generals from having any dispute with him."[18]

In Philadelphia, Pickens was warmly received by President Washington. He told the President he believed that four or five thousand troops, raised from the bordering states and ordered into the Indian country by October 1, could assure within three months, a lasting peace. Murders and depredations, he said, would continue until the warring tribes were conquered.[19]

Pickens returned to Charleston bearing a letter from Washington to Governor Moultrie. Fearing that an offensive war against the Creeks might precipitate war with Spain, Congress and the President hesitated to take the advice of Pickens and Moultrie. However, Washington wrote, "I have just reason to be satisfied with the information of General Pickens, and if the time should arrive when an expedition shall be directed, I should be greatly gratified by his taking an eminent part therein."

CHAPTER XVIII

Congressman Andrew Pickens

WHEN PICKENS refused the command of troops in the Indian war, he thought he would at last be able to devote his time to his farm and family. But he had just returned to Hopewell when his district, entitled for the first time to a representative in Congress, elected him to that office.

It probably never occurred to the General to run for office, but when he was chosen he felt it his duty to serve. It was said that he was not ambitious for himself, "but for his country his ambition knew no end. . . . The opportunity to serve his country and his people he thought of as a gift from heaven, and for it he never sought, or wanted, public applause. In fact, after the service was given, he never seemed to think of it again. He was . . . far more interested in the care and education of his family than . . . honors bestowed upon him."[1]

Shortly after his election to the House of Representatives, Pickens resigned his militia commission and recommended that Captain William Butler be appointed major general in his stead. This was done by the legislature, and the son born soon after to the Butlers was named for the General.[2]

On a brisk cold day in November, all the Pickenses gathered to see him off on the long overland journey to Philadelphia. Becky's eyes must have shone with pride as she looked at the imposing figure of her husband. Beneath a three-cornered hat his silver gray hair was brushed back and tied in a queue. An undress military coat, white ruffled shirt, small clothes, and "fair" topped boots with massive silver spurs completed his attire. The sun glittered on the brace of silver-mounted pistols in his belt as he bade his family good-bye. With a wave of his hand, Congressman Pickens rode away. Pompey, clad in a livery of blue and scarlet and carrying a large portmanteau, followed his master.[3]

Arriving in Philadelphia on December 8, six days after the opening of the first session of the Third Congress, Andrew Pickens presented his credentials and took his seat in the House.[4] Two days later, as a member of the Federalist party, he was put on a committee of seven to decide what amendments were necessary to the act for establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States, in order to augment the supply of arms and ammunition in the magazines and to improve the militia establishment.

In the President's address to the Congress, he had recommended that this step be taken because, "There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace—one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity—it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."[5]

Feeling ran high on the question of trade with Great Britain and France. It was argued that ill will and jealousy had at all times been the predominant features of the conduct of England toward the United States; that that government had grossly insulted the peace treaty, had refused a commerce treaty, "had instigated the Indians to raise the tomahawk and scalping knife against American citizens; had let loose the Algerines upon their unprotected commerce; and had insulted their flag, and pillaged their trade in every quarter of the world." The conduct of France, on the other hand, they argued, had been friendly. That nation had respected American rights and had agreed to enter into trade relations on the basis of reciprocity.[6] A vote was taken on February 5, and after debates contrasting France and Great Britain in relation to political and commercial considerations, Andrew Pickens voted to postpone the final vote until the first Monday in March.[7]

On the resolution to provide a naval force adequate for the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerians, Pickens voted nay. As a measure of protection, this resolution of February 21 was declared incompetent, because the force contemplated was insufficient and since it could not be brought into immediate use would be totally inadequate. The President had stressed the improbability of being able to negotiate a peace with the Dey of Algiers, but Congress considered that by proper management "and a due attention to time and circumstance, a peace might be procured with money, since nations possessing a naval force greatly superior to the proposed armament had found it to their advantage to purchase the friendship of the Algerines. This might be done at less expense than would be incurred in fitting out the proposed armament, and its utility would be immediate. Also the adoption of the measure would be a complete dereliction of the policy of discharging the public debt."[8]

Although those in favor of the measure argued that this was the commencement of a much needed permanent navy, Pickens and others argued that the United States had a funded debt on principles of duration, having raised an army at an immense expense, and that now a proposition was made for a navy at an additional cost. To them the system of governing by debts was the "most refined system of tyranny." The resolution, however, was passed by a majority of eleven.[9]

During these discussions "the irritations in which they began were greatly aggravated" by accounts of the capture of American vessels by British cruisers. Early in March a paper was received which established the fact that the captures had been authorized by the British government.[10] Therefore, on April 18, on the question of non-intercourse with Great Britain, Andrew Pickens voted to prohibit all trade between citizens of the United States and subjects of the King of England.[11]

Congressman Pickens voted for the bill to establish the flag of the United States and the measure putting a tax on carriages. Also on March 24, he was appointed to a committee of nine by the chairman of the State of the Union committee to carry out the resolution: "That measures ought to be immediately taken to render the force of the United States more efficient." And on May 16, 1794, Pickens and Congressmen Carnes, Blount, Mebane, and Preston were instructed to prepare a bill pursuant to the resolution previously adopted whereby the President was authorized to cause to be established and guarded such military posts as in his judgment would be necessary for the permanent security of the frontier settlers, and to employ one or more troops of horse as patrols or rangers between the said posts.

On June 9 the stormy session of the House adjourned until the first Monday in the following November.[12] Early the next morning Pickens and Pompey left Philadelphia to return to South Carolina.

Congressmen were not the only travelers to Philadelphia in 1794. A delegation of Cherokees, headed by Chief Piamingo, had made good their promise to visit the chief executive in Philadelphia.[13] Some six weeks after Pickens reached home, Colonel Wafford[14] arrived at Hopewell with a letter from Secretary Knox saying that the Cherokees were leaving in a short while for their own country.

Since they were laden with presents from the President, it was feared that lawless whites might rob them on their return to the frontier. Such an act would be unfortunate, to say the least, since the officials in Philadelphia had gone to great lengths to establish an understanding with the Cherokees. Knox wrote Pickens he was relying on him to prevent any untoward incidents. He asked the General to increase the guard for as long as he deemed it necessary for their protection and to send him an accounting of expenses; as an additional precaution, he had prevailed upon Lieutenant Dinsmoor to act as Indian advisor and return to the nation with them.[15]

Pickens immediately directed Brigadier General Anderson to order two hundred men from his brigade to report at Pendleton Courthouse on August 21. The following day, General Pickens received word that a Captain McClusky, from Georgia, was gathering a force to attack the Cherokee delegation before they reached the courthouse. Anderson's company was immediately dispatched to meet and escort the Indians to Pendleton, where they were housed and guarded until those who were to receive the goods were notified by runner.

The Cherokees were told to proceed in a body to the Oconee River where the goods would be turned over to them by the middle of September. In the meantime, Pickens received word that white attack parties were being formed to ambush the train en route.[16] He immediately ordered militia escort increased. The General had no intention of allowing anything on the last lap of the trip to mar the good relations achieved by the Cherokees' visit to Philadelphia.

Once the Cherokee delegation was safe within its own territory, Pickens turned his attention to his private affairs. Pressing business delayed his return to Philadelphia, and he did not take his seat in Congress until November 17.[17]

In spite of the heated debates of the first session there had been no serious dissension over the policies of the government, but a spirit of disunity had sprung up in the eastern section of the country.[18]

In the Senate, the Federalist party, which supported the administration, had been strengthened and President Washington's recommendations were accepted without change, but the same spirit did not prevail in the House of Representatives. There the Democratic-Republicans continued in power, and the respect of their leaders for the President was diminishing. When a bill for gradual redemption of the national debt was introduced and the House committee recommended that additional things be made subject to taxation and that temporary duties in force be rendered permanent, it was only by the most persevering exertions by the Federalists that the bill was carried.[19]

Pickens was ever a proponent of just and fair treatment for the Indian nations, so when a resolution was introduced providing that persons unauthorized by law and with hostile intent found on lands secured to the Indians by treaties with the United States be fined and imprisoned, Congressman Pickens voted an emphatic yea. But two days later, after the Senate had passed the bill entitled, "An Act to Prevent Depredations on the Indians South of the Ohio," the House refused to concur. The question was then taken: "Shall the said bill be rejected?" Pickens voted nay, but the opposition prevailed. On March 2, on the bill dealing with the cession of Georgia lands, he voted in the affirmative.[20]

When Congress adjourned on March 3, 1795, Pickens returned to Hopewell and declined to stand for re-election.[21] He was tired of public life. He wanted to be at home with Becky where he would be free to ride over his plantation and watch the waves of rich loam fall from the ox-drawn plows, to fill the big barns of Hopewell with grain, and breathe the scent of apple blossoms from his own orchards.[22]

CHAPTER XIX

Pickens Settles Boundary Disputes

THE YEARS-OLD controversy between the Creeks and the State of Georgia over lands and boundaries remained unsettled. The Georgians had never accepted the Treaty of New York, which they considered had violated the sovereign rights of the state, and the Spanish in Florida continually encouraged the Indians to ignore their obligations and demand that the Treaty of 1783 be revised and the boundaries corrected. To add to the difficulties, the Indians did not trust Governor William Blount; and James Seagrove, whom they did trust, was afraid of his charges and refused to live in the nation. The federal government, the President's professed interest notwithstanding, had done nothing. In 1793, Georgia had threatened to use armed force, but had not carried out the threat.

The General Assembly of Georgia, in December, 1794, set aside certain lands within its boundaries to pay off state troops. The appropriated lands were claimed under old treaties with the Indians that were in direct conflict with the terms of the Treaty of New York. In anticipation of the Creeks' refusal to recognize the claims of the Assembly, the resolution called on Congress to appoint three commissioners to confer with the nation and, if possible, draw up another treaty. Tallassee, the land in question, was between the Altamaha and St. Mary's rivers and was claimed by Georgia under the terms of the Treaty of Shoulderbone. The Creeks, however, had refused to admit that claim at New York.[1]

To complicate matters further, in January, 1795, Georgia passed an additional act whereby millions of acres claimed by the state of Georgia in the Mississippi region were given to speculative companies in which many of the legislators had an interest. This episode became known as the "Yazoo Fraud." United States Senator James Gunn and Congressman Thomas Carnes, who were both interested in the speculation, were delegated to ask the President to appoint a commission to free the lands of all previous claims which Georgia intended to occupy under the act of the previous December. President Washington instructed the Secretary of War, Timothy Pickering, to inform the governor of Georgia that the subject would be brought before the Senate in June. Meanwhile, Congress launched an investigation to determine Georgia's right to sell the western lands.[2] In such an atmosphere there could be no permanent peace.

On June 25, 1795, Washington appointed General Pickens, Benjamin Hawkins, and George Clymer of Pennsylvania federal commissioners for the difficult task of negotiating a treaty between the Creeks and Georgians. The conference was set for the middle of May, 1796, at Coleraine on the St. Mary's River.

When Pickens finally received official notice from the Secretary of War on May 2, 1796, he set out immediately for Savannah.[3] From there he, James Hendricks, James Jackson, and James Simms, the Georgia commissioners, proceeded down the coast by boat to the mouth of the St. Mary's River, and thence sixty miles up the winding stream to Coleraine. They arrived at their destination on the morning of May 30.[4]

Prior to Pickens' arrival Commissioners Hawkins and Clymer had gotten the permission of Colonel Gaither, the garrison commander, to post the following conference regulations: No white man other than James Seagrove could enter Indian encampment above the garrison or converse with Indians except with the permission of a United States commissioner; the garrison alone could bear arms; and trading with the red men, particularly in spirituous liquors, was forbidden.

From the beginning, the Georgia agents opposed the actions of the federal commissioners. They protested that since Coleraine was within the boundaries of the State of Georgia, their making regulations violated the state's sovereignty. When Pickens, Hawkins, and Clymer expressed fear that the armed militia accompanying the Georgia commissioners might be misconstrued by the Indians as attempted armed coercion, the Georgians countered with the reply that they were there to safeguard the supplies furnished by the state. As a result of all this, feeling ran high, and when the Georgians refused to share the tents provided for the federal commissioners an official coolness developed between the two groups.

However, in spite of the ill will, the conference opened on June 16. As soon as the commissioners were seated, four hundred warriors entered the square under the flag of the United States and performed the eagle tail dance in honor of the occasion; then in a special salute, four warriors advanced and waved eagle tails six times over the heads of Pickens, Hawkins, and Clymer. When the dance was over, the six principal kings and headmen rose, solemnly shook hands with the federal commissioners, and handed them the pipe of peace.

Hawkins addressed the body in friendship and introduced the Georgia agents. Peace pipes and liquor were passed, and the Indians were given a sixteen-gun salute by the guard. The meeting recessed until the following day. That evening the chiefs dined with the United States commissioners and after more spirits were consumed and pipes smoked, they assured the commissioners that they were qualified to speak for the nation.

Meanwhile, the Georgia agents gave Hawkins a copy of the statement that they wished to make. The commissioners approved it with few changes. On the 18th, James Jackson delivered the speech, pointing out the Creeks' failure to observe the terms of previous treaties with his state. He exhibited two lists of property amounting to $100,000, which he said they had stolen, and demanded that it be restored. The Indians listened with profound attention, and when Jackson had finished, Big Warrior, who had recently become a prominent chief, remarked, "I can fill up more paper than Jackson has done, with a list of similar outrages of the Georgians upon my people." [5] Thus ended the day's talks.

On June 21, when the meeting reconvened, White-bird King spoke at length. He said they had come at the invitation of President Washington to meet the federal commissioners and that had the meeting been with the Georgians alone, the Creeks would have stayed away. The Creeks felt that the Treaty of New York was made with the President, and they were unwilling to listen to any suggestion that their land be sold to Georgia.

The Creeks protested for several days, insisting that their nation had never consented to give up as much land as was granted Georgia in the Treaty of New York. McGillivray, they claimed, had misinformed them concerning the boundary line, and they contended that they should not be held party to a pact that had been misrepresented to them. The federal commissioners, however, remained firm and insisted that the line, which had not been run, should conform to the treaty.[6]

On June 29, the Treaty of Coleraine was concluded between the chiefs of the whole Creek Nation and the commissioners of the United States government. The Creeks ratified the New York Treaty and pledged to carry out its provisions, and to assist Spain and the United States in the running of the boundary lines. They also gave permission for the government to establish a military post on a five-mile-square tract on the south side of the Altamaha River, and another on a tract between the Ocmulgee and Oconee; but they refused to cede any of this land to the State of Georgia. They also agreed to respect the treaties of Hopewell and Holston between the United States and the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws and to return to the State of Georgia all property and persons seized since the Treaty of New York, which the governor was empowered to send agents to claim. The federal commissioners agreed to allow the Creek Nation "two blacksmiths and two strikers, with tools and iron," and to distribute six thousand dollars worth of goods among those present.[7]

The next few days the commissioners were busy finishing their reports, one of which was sent to Governor Jared Irwin, of Georgia, telling him that the Creek representatives had come fully instructed not to part with their lands. "It . . . will require some time, and a considerable degree of prudence, to impress upon the Indians a confidence in the uprightness of the views of your government, and in the friendly and peaceable intentions of its citizens, who inhabit the frontiers. And until such confidence is established, we are of [the] opinion that all attempts to acquire land from them, by fair and open purchase will be ineffectual."

On July 3, presents were delivered to the Indians, and they departed. Three days later, Pickens, Hawkins, and Clymer left Coleraine by boat, at five o'clock in the morning. Two hours later they left the boat at St. Mary's, "to accommodate Mr. Clymer," and after eating a hearty breakfast set out across country for Savannah, and thence home.[8]

As was expected, the disgruntled Georgia agents accused the commissioners of having disregarded Georgia's interests, and charged Seagrove with influencing the Creeks not to cede the land as far as the Ocmulgee.[9] Pickens, Hawkins, and Clymer denied the allegations, but private citizens took up the cry, and a slanderous newspaper campaign was launched against them. Hard feelings developed throughout the state, and the Treaty of Coleraine was even a subject for debate on the floor of Congress.

In view of the storm of protests from Georgia, Hawkins went to Philadelphia to deliver the report in person to the President. Washington accepted it and assured Hawkins that he was well pleased with the conduct of the United States commissioners,[10] and when Adams took office on March 4, 1797, he indicated his approval of the terms of the Coleraine Treaty.[11]

Pickens eagerly awaited Hawkins' return from Philadelphia to find out how the controversial Coleraine Treaty had been received by the President. On November 19, 1796, Hawkins arrived at Hopewell and gave the General a full account of his reception in the capital and of the decision to proceed according to the treaty.

Hawkins wrote James McHenry, the Secretary of War, "Situated as he [Pickens] is on the frontier, confided in and respected by the citizens and the Indians, he can and will do much in aid of our plan. We have fixed on the 10th of March to meet at Currahee Mountain to run the boundary line between the Creek and the United States agreeable to Treaty.

"The line must be run from the Tugaloo River to the Currahee Mountain to the source of the main branch of the Oconee. The General supposes the distance to be about fifteen miles, and from thence to the termination thirty-five miles."

Pickens and Hawkins had agreed that after the Creek line was established the Cherokee line could be started by the first of April, but not before as there was no forage for the horses from the North Carolina border to the Holston River.

For several days after his arrival Hawkins was ill, but he soon recovered "under the cordial treatment" received from his old friend and Mrs. Pickens. When he was able to travel, the General outfitted him and on November 24, Hawkins set out for the Oconee Station on a tour of inspection of the Creek and Cherokee nations.[12]

Meanwhile, Pickens had been named a presidential elector for the first district.[13] John Adams was duly elected, but before Washington retired, he appointed Pickens, Hawkins, and General James Winchester federal commissioners to establish and mark the boundary lines between the United States and the Indian nations south of the Ohio, pursuant to the Treaty of 1791.[14]

General Pickens received official notice of his appointment on February 2, 1797. The Cherokees had complained to him that the whites were continuing to settle on their land, and Pickens, determined to establish the boundary before the situation got out of hand, went to Fort Fidius to expedite matters.[15]

Pickens arrived at Fort Fidius on the 25th of February. On March 7, he wrote Hawkins that in view of the fact that "each day adds to the number of intruders" on Cherokee land no time should be lost in establishing their line. He suggested postponing the running of the Creek line until the Cherokee line had been run. To complete the work in the quickest possible time, he felt that they should take the shortest route over Oconee Mountain through the Cherokee Nation, to the Tellico Blockhouse—a route he had helped establish the year before.[16]

Pickens enclosed letters to the governor and Silas Dinsmore, the Cherokee agent, explaining the situation. Hawkins approved the plan and enclosed the letters in one of his own to Dinsmore. He asked that the necessary arrangements be made at once and the Cherokees be notified of the change of plans.[17]

In the meantime, Pickens had returned to Hopewell where Hawkins joined him on March 16. Several days later, the two surveyors (Joseph Whitner and John Clark Kilpatrick) and a group of Cherokees arrived. On the 23rd, the party set out for the Tellico Blockhouse. The first day's trip carried them to Tamassee, a place owned by the General which was situated in the fork of Tamassee Creek and the main branch of the Little River. It adjoined the Cherokee territory.[18]

A majestic mountain towered to the southwest, and to the north the flat lands of the two creeks appeared to reach the foot of a mountain range beyond. From the top of an elevation where Pickens planned to build a house, the ruins of the old Indian town of Tamassee could be seen, while here and there a drift of pink marked the spot where the former inhabitants had planted peach trees. Years before, the General told his companions he had made up his mind that there, near where he had fought one of the most dangerous engagements of his career — against the Cherokees in 1776 — he would one day live and die.[19]

The next day the party reached the Oconee Station where Lieutenant Moseley and two of his men joined them. All that day the route lay through the foothills, where dogwood bloomed and lush meadows spread through the valleys. At night they made camp and turned the hobbled horses out to graze.[20]

As the trail became steeper, the men averaged only three miles an hour. In the higher altitude, masses of evergreens bordered the trail, and the dogwood and sassafras were still in bud.

On the 26th, the party reached the top of the first ridge and started down the tortuous trail toward the southwest. All that day the men rode through glades of black-jack oak and hard-shelled hickory. That night they camped at the old town site of Quanassee. Where fields of corn once waved, there were only deserted open flats.

The next morning, they obtained provisions from an Indian village, situated on the bank of a small river before resuming their journey over the mountains. Travel was slow and going down the mountain was equally as difficult as climbing. When they reached the foot of the mountain and found grass beside the trail for the horses, the tired men threw themselves on the ground and refused to move until morning.

On March 28 they stopped at Little Tellico, and crossed the Notley Mountains, before stopping at dusk to set up their camp beside a mountain stream.

The following morning, an exhausing climb through a narrow pass brought the party to Turnback Point, where they spent the rest of the day and a stormy night.

Pickens and his party journeyed on down the mountain, fording the Tellico River, and stopped at Town House, where they were received by the chief and his warriors. After resuming their journey northward, they soon passed the spot where their Cherokee guide told them the soldiers from Fort Loudon had been killed.

The next day, March 31, the weary party reached the Tennessee River and were ferried across to the Tellico Blockhouse. Silas Dinsmore and the Honorable David Campbell, one of the commissioners who had been appointed in 1792 to survey and mark the Indian line, joined Pickens and Hawkins there. When General Winchester failed to meet them at the appointed time, Pickens and Hawkins were told that his delay was part of a squatters' plot to postpone the running of the line.

Refusing to be deterred by this turn of events, Pickens and Hawkins proceeded with their survey. After three days of intensive study, they notified McHenry that General Winchester had not appeared, but they were ready to fix the boundary "as expressed in the treaty." In a letter dated April 11, 1797, the commissioners told the secretary they felt that Winchester stayed away because he thought the line could not be run unless all three commissioners took part, and that he had purposely lingered to give white settlers time to plant their crops on the disputed lands. On April 24, Pickens and Hawkins asked the Secretary of War for permission to proceed without him. Eight days later they filed positive charges against Winchester.

The determination of Pickens and Hawkins to follow their instructions aroused opposition not only from those who had encroached upon the Cherokees and Captain Richard Sparks of the United States Army, who was in charge of the troops in Tennessee, but also from Governor John Sevier who informed Pickens and Hawkins on April 13 that citizens of Tennessee were alarmed over the rumors of large bodies of Indians assembling on the frontier. He threatened, unless informed immediately of the cause and intention of so large a gathering of Indians to call out the militia. He also complained that although he had heard that Pickens and Hawkins were appointed to mark the boundary line, he had received no official notification from the President of the United States or the federal commissioners "if they be such."

The commissioners replied, "We think, Sir that . . . a knowledge that the agents in the Indian department were here ought to have been sufficient to remove all cause of alarm from the citizens of the State. . . . We are appointed . . . commissioners to ascertain and mark the boundary lines agreeable to treaties between the Indian nations and the United States and we are now on that business. . . . We shall take care that in the execution of this trust our fidelity shall correspond with the confidence reposed in us by the appointment."[21]

There was no further conflict with the governor, but he did nothing to aid in the negotiations or make the running of the line less difficult. He unfortunately had copies of his letter circulated before it reached the commissioners, thereby encouraging those who had grievances against the United States to embarrass Pickens and Hawkins in their efforts to establish the boundary.[22]

Captain Sparks went so far as to order George Strother, ensign commandant at Tellico, not to obey orders of the commissioners. Pickens and Hawkins, however, had been authorized to issue instructions to Captain Sparks; so, on April 16 they reported his conduct to Colonel Henley as "unbecoming in an officer and gentleman." They then ordered Sparks to furnish them an escort of thirty privates, two commissioned and four noncommissioned officers, with mounts and equipment. Sparks saw the error of his ways and apologized for his earlier conduct.[23]

A deputation of citizens, knowing that the "experiment line" of 1792, as it was commonly called, was not accurate, admitted to Pickens and Hawkins that the boundary had been altered for the benefit of whites who were then settled on the frontier. When they realized that the commissioners were determined to run the line accurately, they asked permission to harvest the crops already planted. Since the survey could not be completed before June, the commissioners consented.[24]

Meanwhile, the Cherokees, who had been invited to confer, were slow in gathering since they had been led to believe that they would be attacked by the white settlers. But at last an understanding was effected and on April 25, a delegation of Cherokees met with the commissioners. Arrangements were accordingly made for running the line, and they authorized Pickens and Hawkins to select necessary sites for military posts within their country.

When white settlers appeared at the meeting, the commissioners told them flatly that they were bound by the Holston Treaty, and that those who lived on Indian lands would have to move. Furthermore, they were warned that it was useless to expect the Indians to part with their lands unless the white citizens would pay more respect to the treaties than they had done in the past.[25]

The party left Tellico on the 29th to make a preliminary survey. The following day pack horses with provisions for the escort arrived from Colonel Henley, and on May 1 the survey was begun. Two days later, Hawkins went to Knoxville on business and Andrew Pickens crossed the Tennessee and continued running the line "N 25 W 34 chains" to the Clinch River where he camped on the ridge to the left of Turkey Creek. The line extended a thousand yards above South West Point, at the mouth of the Clinch River.[26]

General Winchester finally joined Pickens and Hawkins, and on May 21 Governor Sevier, as a gesture of good will, spent the day in their camp.

The running of the line was tedious work, but on May 26, the top of the ridge between the Duck River and the Cumberland was reached. The line was then run back and marked to the place of deviation by Pickens' surveyor.[27]

The surveyors, on July 17, 1797, moved through Knoxville and camped ten miles to the northeast on the road leading to the Kentucky River. Hawkins, with Whitner, took off toward the West, while Pickens and Kilpatrick headed East and ran the line to the treaty line of 1785. In Cherokee history this became known as the Pickens Line and the western end was called the Hawkins Line. Trees along the route were marked with the date 1797, and on the north side a "U. S." was cut into the tree, while on the south side a "C" faced the Cherokee Nation.[28] At last a "laborious service of more than six months,"[29] that had cost $2,782.80[30] was completed, and Andrew Pickens returned to Hopewell.

When the time came to run the Creek boundary line in 1798, Pickens wrote to Hawkins that he could not take part, but that the surveyors and chain bearers would set out from Tugaloo on January 4 to join him. Hawkins encountered no opposition and reported that the line had been run in perfect harmony.[31]

CHAPTER XX

Andrew Pickens – Private Citizen

PICKENS DID not elaborate on why he could not take part in the running of the Creek line, but his absence was no doubt due to the pressure of his own affairs. During the years when public duty kept him away from home some of his business enterprises had suffered. At Charleston, on June 9, 1798, he and his partners, John Lewis Gervais, John Rutledge, and John Owen, in the firm of Andrew Pickens & Company, empowered William Steele to sue all persons indebted to the firm for goods bought at the store lately operated at Hopewell. Steele was to pay the monies received to Gervais and Owen who in turn were to pay the debts incurred by the firm.[1]

Shortly after Steele was authorized to file the claims, Owen let it be known that he expected the General to assume the major part of former Governor John Rutledge's indebtedness (Rutledge had been mentally incompetent for several years). Pickens protested and produced the agreement by which each partner was bound to an equal share of the profits and losses.[2]

The General believed that submitting the matter to a referee would be an acknowledgment of Owen's right to make the demand. He therefore instructed his son Ezekiel, who practiced law near Charleston, to represent him. Pickens wrote Ezekiel, "The more I think of the statement, I dislike it the worse — the large sum which they charge for interest is a mistery to me and the method of stating my account with the concern, I do not see the justice of it. I wish you to look as carefully into the matter as you can before you leave it to Owen . . . one thing more, the adding 75 per cent on the goods in the statement I do not see the propriety of . . . ."

Apparently, the decision was against Pickens for on April 12, 1800, he wrote his son Andrew, who was a student at Brown University, that a few days before, he had been "obliged" to pay "$1500 on account of Gervais and Owen" which had taken all the money he had, including that received from the sale of his stall-fed steers, although he had "lodged double that sum in the hands of [blank] to pay that debt but it was put to other uses."[3]

That same year, Pickens sent Andrew back to Brown, financial reverses notwithstanding. He told him that the money he could provide would not enable him to live in an "elegant style," but that such a life was not intended for a young man in college. He was reminded that he would be better off by attending to his studies and improving his time.

The following year when young Andrew was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, his proud father tempered his praise with a word of warning. "Your improvements," he wrote, "in learning and the good opinion of the president and tutors in college are gratifying to me, but you must remember that many, under tutors and governors, perform well, but after they come to act for themselves doe not act so well. The improvement of those advantages you have received will under divine guidance be an advantage to yourself and a satisfaction to your friends . . . ."[4]

Meanwhile, Pickens spent more and more of his time at his foothill plantation. Some twenty-two miles from Hopewell he had built a lodge of logs and named it Tamassee.[5] Someday he planned to make it into a real home where he and Becky would spend the remainder of their days, facing the mountains he loved and the ruins of the old Indian town which had borne the same name.

During this period of semi-retirement, a new church was being built to replace the Hopewell Church, which had been destroyed by a fire in 1796, and it benefitted from the General's energy and interest.[6] He followed the progress of the stone meeting house from the cornerstone-laying in 1797 until the building was completed several years later. Then he donated the pews and pulpit.[7]

The farm and the church prospered under Pickens' guidance, but the General had been too long a public figure to be allowed to retire to private life. In the summer of 1798 he was urged to return to the state legislature, and he agreed to make the race. As soon as he announced for office, two other candidates, Nott and Smith, withdrew. Therefore, on October 8 Pickens was elected without opposition.[8]

When the legislature convened in November, the General was in his seat. On the 28th, he was appointed to serve on the committee of privileges and elections,[9] and on December 6, when nominations were received to fill the unexpired term of

John Hunter in the United States Senate, Pickens was nominated by the Federalists and Charles Pinckney by the Democratic-Republican party. Pinckney won by sixteen votes.[10]

Although there had been no calls upon him regarding Indian affairs during Adams' administration, Pickens could not be disinterested. On January 1, 1800, in response to continued reports that forty-five or fifty white families were squatting on Cherokee territory, he wrote to Congressman Abraham Nott of South Carolina and told him of the situation.[11]

Pickens had been a member of the Federalist party, but he was among the many who had been won over to Thomas Jefferson's views of liberty and democracy. Pickens' change of parties is verified in his reply to a letter from Colonel Marinus Willett.[12] The General wrote he had not received the letter until after the election, but even so he would not have attempted to change the Republican candidates. "You know," Pickens said, "how the Republicans acted in this State against a most violent opposition from the other party. The violence of the flame is at present a little smothered, but the same spirit still remains in the enemies of the present administration, and they will again attempt to recover their power, therefore, friends to the republican Government ought to be ever watchful and ready to repel every attempt of arbitrary Government. Mr. Colhoun[13] [Becky's brother], who goes to the Senate from this state in the place of Mr. Reed, is a republican and sensable. . . ."[14]

Then switching from political to personal matters, Pickens asked Colonel Willett to tell his son Andrew, when he called upon him en route home from college, if he had not received the money he had sent to go to the Secretary of War, General Dearborn, and get what he needed. He said that he would also be grateful if Colonel Willett would give Andrew a letter of introduction to the secretary.

Pickens then almost apologetically requested that Willett ask Vice-President Aaron Burr to speak to the President on behalf of his eldest son, who practiced law near Charleston. Ezekiel, he said, had never liked the profession; he believed a government position would suit him better if there were a vacancy in the state worthy of his consideration. Pickens had never sought favors for himself, but he realized that Ezekiel was not happy in his vocation and his pride gave way to parental concern. "Pardon me," the General concluded, "for these requests, it is the first of the kind I ever made for myself or any relation. . . ."

CHAPTER XXI

Later Indian Treaties

NOTWITHSTANDING Andrew Pickens' former political affiliations, when William R. Davie declined to serve as United States commissioner to treat with the Southern Indians for a road right-of-way through their nations, President Thomas Jefferson appointed Pickens to the post.[1] The Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, notified Pickens that the President wanted him to "treat the subject with great tenderness," and not press the Indians on any subjects other than those related to the roads and settlers. "Impress upon them," he wrote, "that we are not in want of lands but only wish to be accommodated with such roads as are necessary to enable us to keep in communication with all parts of the United States without trespassing on the lands of the red people. Should the Indians object on the grounds that cattle, etc., might be stolen by traveling whites, it might be wise to agree that no white people shall be allowed to travel on the road to Natchez without a pass."[2]

At his age the appointment was unexpected, but General Pickens accepted the task gladly and shortly after the middle of August he set out for Southwest Point. When he reached that place on the evening of the 31st, he found Hawkins and Wilkinson waiting for him.[3]

Four days later the commissioners and the Cherokee chiefs met in conference. The commissioners told the Indians that their "new father," Thomas Jefferson, had asked them to assure "his red children" of his paternal affection and to say to them that he held their rights sacred. However, they said, since "your white brethren, who live at Natches, at Nashville, and in South Carolina, are very far removed from each other . . . your father is desirous to open wide these roads, but as they pass over the lands of his red children . . . he first asks their consent to the measures, and is willing to pay them an equivalent for the indulgence of his white children. . . . This is a small request . . . intended not to extinguish your rights but to give value to your land and to make it immediately productive to you, in the manner of your ferry over Clinch River."[4]

Chief Soquilataque, who was called Doublehead, said that the Cherokees would give their answer the next day. The following morning he reminded the commissioners that the provisions of former treaties had not been kept by the citizens of the United States; a number of white families, under a Mr. Wofford, had settled and were now living upon Cherokee lands. The chief informed the commissioners that until the terms of the treaties were enforced and reparations made for injuries received the Cherokees would not grant new concessions.

The commissioners agreed to forward his complaints to the President with recommendations for the removal of the white settlers. Until the action was taken, the chief refused to permit the white man's road to cross the Cherokee Nation.

In the face of the chief's refusal, the commissioners deemed it best not to press the matter further. Assuring the Cherokees of their good will, Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson bade them goodbye and proceeded down river by boat. On reaching Nashville they found that the route to the Tennessee River did not cross the Cherokee territory but lay entirely within the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations.

The commissioners embarked on September 8 for Chickasaw Bluffs, now Memphis, Tennessee.

The journey down the Ohio River and thence to the Mississippi was uneventful, except for the few times that Indians shot at the slowly moving boats.[5] Fortunately no one was hit, which was added proof to the General's oft-repeated remark that all Indians were bad shots.[6]

At Occochappo, or Bear Creek, the party stopped to take on supplies and dispatch a letter to Samuel Mitchell, the Chickasaw agent, advising him that the commissioners expected to reach Chickasaw Bluffs on October 10. However, after they left Bear Creek, bad weather and rough waters delayed them. On the 7th another message was sent to Mitchell saying that it would be the 15th before the commissioners arrived.[7]

After a "tedious tour down the pellucid Tennessee, opaque Ohio, and muddy Mississippi," the party reached Chickasaw Bluffs on the designated day. On the 21st the conference got under way with a full representation from the Chickasaw Nation, headed by their king, or "Mingo." When the Indians were assured that no lands were wanted, they agreed to allow the road to pass through their nation, but they made it clear that no white settlers would be given permission to establish taverns or homes within the territory, and that all ferries over waterways would be considered the property of the Chickasaws.[8]

On the 24th, when the treaty had been read and interpreted, it was signed by the Chickasaw mingo and sixteen of their principal men. Presents, including powder, lead, guns, flints, rifles, axes, scalping knives, whiskey, tobacco, blankets, shirts, etc., amounting to $702.21 were then delivered to the Indians.[9]

On October 28, Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson pushed off down the Mississippi for Loftus Heights (Natchez) to meet the Choctaws on November 20. The trip down was particularly trying as the "season was unfavorable for health," and each of the commissioners suffered "from the fever of the climate." But by the time they reached their destination, on November 12, they had recovered.[10]

After the usual ceremonies, the negotiations took place at general headquarters. A right-of-way treaty was finally concluded on December 17. For the first time the bounty of the United States was implored and the commissioners were asked for materials, tools, implements, and instructors to train the Indians.[11]

When gifts were proffered, the chiefs refused the whiskey intended for them and asked that none be given to any of their people. The treaty was then signed confirming the old boundary between Great Britain and the Choctaws, and plans were made for re-marking it. After further discussions, arrangements were completed for the proposed road that was to be run from Natchez to the Yazoo River. As a final gesture of friendship, gifts amounting to $2,038 and rations for the trip home, were distributed to the Choctaws and they left Natchez in good spirits.[12]

Another phase of the mission that had overcome so many miles and hardships was finished. Not only was the post road that later became known as the Natchez Trace made possible, but a route was opened to the vast Louisiana and Missouri territories. The commissioners adjourned, having decided that since the Creeks spent the winter in the woods, it would be useless to try to treat with them then. The

Creek conference was planned for May 1, 1802, at Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee. The commissioners would then try once more to settle the differences between the Creeks, the United States, and Georgia.[13]

Despite inclement weather, on December 22, Pickens and Hawkins, outfitted by the quartermaster at Fort Adams, set out for home. Five hundred miles lay between them and the Creek Nation, Hawkins' destination, and two hundred eighty additional miles separated Andrew Pickens from Hopewell.[14]

For most of the way the weather was mild. But in the Choctaw Nation heavy rains had sent rivers and creeks out of the banks, making usually shallow streams so deep that the horses were forced to swim. However, the only casualty on the entire trip was one mule drowned in the Black Warrior River.

As Pickens and Hawkins travelled, they found the Choctaws and Creeks friendly and well disposed toward the United States. The men in both tribes wanted to procure better equipment for their farms and be instructed in better farming methods.[15]

Andrew Pickens reached Hopewell on February 8, 1802, and found his family enjoying "their ordinary health." After an absence of nearly five months he not only had his own personal affairs to attend to, but he had to check on John Ewing Colhoun's plantation as well. Several weeks after his return, he sent Senator Colhoun in Washington a draft on the Secretary of War for his services as commissioner for treating with the Indian tribes south of the Ohio, enclosing a statement of expenditures. He asked the Senator to present them to the Secretary of War, and to draw the money for him.[16] Pickens also advised Colhoun on Indian matters.

Being cognizant of the plans, Benjamin Hawkins—the principal agent for the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw ,and Creek tribes—had a plan for civilizing the nations under his supervision. Pickens reported to Colhoun that he believed if the government would support Hawkins, the Indians would eventually become useful citizens. However, the encroachments of the whites on Indian lands was a "bar and a hindrance" to carrying out the plan. "Unless a stop is put to the usurpation and the whites evicted from the lands, the Indians will lose confidence in the government and one of the main objectives of the late treaties will be lost," he insisted.[17]

A few months later Pickens was called upon to exert his energy and ability in an attempt to secure fair treatment for the Indians.

Although the Georgia legislature, in October, 1797, had not passed a bill to cede to the United States all lands west of a line drawn due north from a point on the thirty-first parallel twenty-five miles west of the Chattahoochee, in 1802 Georgia sold it western claims to the federal government with the stipulation that the Indian lands within the boundaries of the state be cleared by the United States. This promise by the government to abolish Indian land titles was a repudiation of the policy implied in the Treaty of New York, and was the chief reason Georgia agreed to sell.[18]

The conference to be held at Fort Wilkinson (near Milledgeville, Georgia), on May 1, 1802, was for the purpose of settling those claims. The previous year, the President had appointed Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson to represent the United States at the conference.[19]

Therefore, following the plan made by the commissioners at Fort Adams, General Pickens joined Hawkins at Fort Wilkinson, on May 2, 1803, and six days later Wilkinson arrived. Remembering the trouble they had had in the past with Georgia commissioners, Pickens and Hawkins sent Wilkinson on May 17 to invite Governor Tattnall to attend the conference.

The governor did not accept, but he wrote the commissioners that he regretted that the necessity of their remaining with the Indians would prevent him from having the pleasure of their company at Louisville. And he expressed his gratitude for their efforts to promote the interest of the State of Georgia.[20]

The Indians gathered, and on May 23 the chiefs notified the commissioners that they wished to receive them the next day in the public square, according to tribal custom. The commissioners, having learned that the General Assembly of Georgia would not meet before June 10 and knowing that they could not hold the Indians until that date, decided to begin the conference without an official state representative.[21]

Accordingly, on the following day, Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson witnessed the elaborate Creek ceremonial. To the beat of tom-toms and chants, the eagle tail dance was performed. Before the dancing column, Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson were escorted to places in the center of the square. The dancers formed a circle around them and touched the commissioners with the white wing ceremonial fan of reconciliation.

Directly behind General Wilkinson, who acted as spokesman, was a small pit and beside it a white staff. Dancers, holding in their hands red bows and arrows, broke them into pieces and dropped them into the pit. As the tempo increased the pit was filled and finally covered with a white deer skin. Then three principal chiefs of the Upper and Lower Towns came forward and solemnly wiped the faces of Pickens, Hawkins, and Wilkinson with a spotless skin. Slowly and with great formality, they led the commissioners to a log covered with skins. When they were seated, more white skins, the symbol of peace, were thrown about their shoulders. The peace pipe was solemnly passed from one to another. The chiefs then embraced the white men in friendship and delivered their talks, which concluded the ceremonies of the day.

The following morning the actual work on the treaty began. Wilkinson, outlining the purpose for which they had gathered, opened the meeting. He told the Creeks that although he was a stranger to them, they knew General Pickens and Colonel Hawkins and therefore could not doubt their friendship and sincerity. The speech was received favorably, but at its conclusion the chiefs asked for a three-day recess to consider it. On May 29 the Indians requested that the recess be extended until June 8.

Finally, the commissioners, although unable to secure all the lands the Georgians desired, drew up the treaty, and it was signed by both sides on the 18th. For valuable considerations the Creeks ceded to the United States all the territory east of a line to run from High Shoals on the Appalachee to Ellicott's Mound on the St. Mary's.[22]

That same day Andrew Pickens—the "fearless, wise, and patriotic" general—and his party left Hawkins and Wilkinson to distribute the gifts among the Indians and headed for Hopewell.[23]

But Pickens had scarcely reached South Carolina before the storm of criticism broke. Georgians, who were disappointed that the Ocmulgee had not been made the boundary line, accused him of favoring the Creeks. It was even declared that Wilkinson had stated that had it not been for Pickens and Hawkins the Indians would have accepted that line. On the other hand, some Georgians realized the difficulty of treating with the Creeks and came to their defense.

The rumors continued for more than a year, and finally on October 12, 1803, Benjamin Hawkins wrote to John Milledge, who was then governor of Georgia: "I feel it a duty incumbent on me to do away a report maliciously invented and circulated through the State of Georgia relative to the conduct of General Pickens at the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson with the Creeks, 'That the General was hostile to the views of Georgia and used his influence to oppose by right [might] the exertions made by another commissioner of the day to obtain the lands to Ocmulgee and to make the river the boundary.'[24]

"The estimable character of the General established by a long life of usefullness should have stifled the report in a country where he is universally known, as the mere intimation that such a man would accept from the President an office he did not intend to execute with fidelity is a disgrace to any capable of making it. The General stands higher in the estimation of the Indians in my opinion than any man living, they have had just cause to fear him as a warrior when their enemy, and to love him now [as] a friend [and] as an honest man. His influence among the Creeks and Cherokees was greater at the time than both of the other commissioners, and he exerted it not only to obtain all we were instructed to do, but endeavored to make the Ocmulgee the line in its whole extent, concurring in opinion with me, that nothing short of that could come up to and satisfy the expectations of Georgia."

CHAPTER XXII

Skyagunsta at Tamassee

IN 1802 Pickens was sixty-three years old but much of the vigor and energy of his early years remained with him. Civilization had caught up with him once more at Hopewell and, he decided to build a home on his wilderness tract, Tamassee, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains near the Cherokee country. Tamassee meant "Sunlight of God" and the Indian name for the mountains was Sahkenagah, the "Great blue hills of God"—a suitable place for the retirement and last years of Andrew Pickens, the fighting Presbyterian elder.

But retirement was more of an idea than an actuality at the time. In addition to building and planning this new estate, Pickens busied himself with running his plantations which were scattered throughout the Ninety Six, Greenville, Pendleton, and Washington districts.[1] From Hopewell and Tamassee he shipped kegs of fresh butter and produce to his factor in Charleston.[2] Supplies were ordered for the store at Hopewell and nails for the lodge at Tamassee.

A great part of 1802 was spent at Tamassee although his family still remained at Hopewell. Pickens thought he was through with politics, but he had not lost interest in the problems of the day. He had been too long a part of the national scene to turn his back on it, and he eagerly awaited the arrival of letters and papers from the nation's capital.

One of his chief correspondents was Senator Colhoun. In one letter Pickens remarked he was pleased with a recent speech by President Jefferson and the report of the treasurer, but he doubted the wisdom of the proposed reduction of the military force of the country. "The present force," he said, "is but small for such an extended frontier as the United States has. . . . The present arrangement, I must confess, I dislike exceedingly, and the expense and extravagance that has got into our present little army is beyond my expectations. How this evil can be irradicated, and the present army kept together is difficult. Time and strict discipline can only doe it."[3]

Andrew Pickens deplored the fact that party spirit ran high in Congress. He had hoped that when the Republican party gained the majority its members would remain cool and dispassionate and would not try to destroy all who opposed them.[4]

In his remote retreats in the hills, Pickens could look with detachment on the scenes of public life. Though he reveled in his role of country squire, he could not entirely separate himself from popular affairs. On August 16, he accepted the nomination for a seat in the legislature. Robert Anderson, who was also nominated, declared at length that his and the General's public conduct had been reproached by designing men and that they had been made the subject of slander. It was rumored that Pickens and Anderson wanted to establish the Presbyterian faith, exclusive of the other churches. Believing that by such a claim his opponents sought to turn the Baptists against him, Anderson denounced his enemies with vigor. But Pickens, who was tolerant of all religions, did not even bother to answer the charges.[5]

Nor was this the only demand for him to return to public affairs; once more President Jefferson appointed him a commissioner to run the line between Georgia and Tennessee. Having always put duty first, Pickens knew that as long as he was able to render service to his country he would do so. He also served on the commission to settle the line between Georgia and South Carolina. Probably the most difficult task in this capacity was the surveying of the boundary line between North Carolina and Tennessee.[6]

But public life was taking less and less of his time. He had managed to finish the house at Tamassee, and in the spring of 1805 the Pickens family moved into their new home.[7] "The house was a story and a half with a rock stack chimney in the center of the house. Eight feet logs fit the chimney downstairs, six foot logs upstairs. On one side of the chimney were three rooms upstairs and downstairs; on the other side were two rooms up and down stairs. The house was about fifty feet in length. There were front and back porches full length of the house. The porches were ten feet in width. The logs were hewn. The house was ceiled inside with wide plank planed and painted. The living room was painted dark brown with chair boards about two feet high. Bed rooms were painted in colors. A deep stairway from the front porch led up by the chimney to a door to enter each end of the house. The house was covered with drawn shingles. There were small glass windows with plain solid shutters. The shutters were painted green and the house solid red. Large cedar trees stood directly in front of the house. The kitchen was built off from the dwelling."[8]

A feeling of deep satisfaction settled over Pickens as he looked at the strong and sturdy house which in many respects reflected his own character.[9] His son Andrew, who had recently married, was established at Hopewell,[10] but the two children of Ezekiel had come to live with their grandparents. Ezekiel's wife, the former Elizabeth Bonneau, had died while he was serving as lieutenant governor, and the General and his wife were delighted to have Little Ezekiel and the baby Samuel as a part of their household.[11]

Having spent so much of his time away from his own children when they were small, Andrew Pickens made much over his grandchildren. And later when little Ezekiel joined his father at St. Thomas, Ezekiel wrote Mrs. Floride Colhoun, "I will bring Samuel down if his grandfather and grandmother will consent. They love him better I believe than one of their own. My father cannot be without him."

Perhaps the General felt that at last his time was his own and he would be free to develop this new land as he saw fit. After years of travel over mountain trails and down unchartered rivers, Tamassee was a delightful retreat in his old age. Cherokees, who once were his enemies were now his friends and neighbors, and the wide open door of "the little red house" beckoned to them, as well as to the white travelers, to stop and rest beneath the Pickens' roof.

Becky, who answered to the call of "Little Mother" from children and grandchildren alike, was never too busy to welcome visitors. Although often on missions of mercy, she liked nothing better than good conversation and a matching of wits. Wherever she went the brightness and vivacity "of her magnetic disposition"[12] created an atmosphere of love and happiness. No matter how tired or discouraged her husband had been when he returned from a peace conference or a boundary dispute, her cheerfulness soon dispelled his gloom. Pickens himself was more serious and reserved, but he greeted his guests cordially and assured them of their welcome if they could put up with his plain fare.[13] The remoteness of Tamassee did not stop the visitors, for many famous persons made their way over the winding trail, which became known as "the General's Road," to the little red house.[14]

Knowing that they were welcome at Tamassee, the Indians came frequently bearing gifts for the master. And on one occasion when they heard that the great Skyagunsta's latest grandson was there on a visit they came in a body to do him honor. Assuring the frightened mother that the baby would be safe, the General permitted the warriors to take him. To the beat of toms-toms, the chanting Indians marched around the house several times while the delighted baby played with the beads and feathers of the one who carried him. When the ceremony was over, the child was returned to the arms of the anxious mother. Then, with a formality equal to theirs, General Pickens, in behalf of his little grandson accepted the gifts they had brought.[15]

Not long after the Pickenses moved to Tamassee, other families moved in, settling nearby. With the coming of neighbors and the advance of years, the General, perhaps feeling that the twenty-five or thirty-mile ride to services was too much for him and Becky, promoted a church nearer home. Thus it was that in 1805 the Bethel Presbyterian Church was built with Pickens as one of the first ruling elders of the congregation.[16]

At last a respite from public duties had come. In this quiet period few events happened to change the tenor of his life.

Always strict in family devotions, conducted after he had made his daily rounds over the plantation, the General would go to the Bible stand, and opening the great book, the publication of which he had helped sponsor, he would read; then as he stood, in the Presbyterian custom, a prayer for thanksgiving would rise from his lips. In a letter to Lyman C. Draper, William Martin wrote that he had often spent the night in the Pickens home and that the General, in his devotions, always sang in "a monotonous tune" one of Rowe's versions of David's Psalms. He said he believed that the old fighter would have suffered martyrdom before he would sing one of Watts' hymns.[17]

In the spring of 1806, Rebecca became engaged to William Noble, the son of Becky's sister Catherine.[18] Looking at her the General saw again his own Becky at that age. She must have a big wedding, one that she would remember as he and Becky remembered theirs forty-one years before. All the children and grandchildren would be present as well as the Noble and Calhoun relatives from Long Canes and Abbeville District.

For weeks the house hummed with preparations. Everyone was busy from morning until night. The best hams, turkeys, and chickens were made ready, while the spinning wheels were kept turning as the older women put the finishing touches on the dowry that Rebecca would take to her new home on the Savannah River. Smiling, Becky went about the house, giving orders and cheering the workers with her sprightly wit, while young Rebecca and Catherine flitted from room to room, offering to help until old Fillis drove them away. Outside, Dick sat in the sun and offered sage advice to his young mistresses; and the energetic General, throwing the reins of his horse to a slave boy, stopped and talked to his daughters as they sat in the shade of the big cedars.

When the girls returned to the house, Andrew Pickens sat on, musing. Life had been good to him. He and Becky had raised a large family, "all highly respectable."[19] His oldest sons had "classical educations" and had studied law at Princeton and Brown universities. Both were public-spirited men and were active in politics. Ezekiel had married a second time and now had four children; while Andrew and his wife, Susan Wilkinson, had a son, Francis, who was born April 7, 1805.[20] Sometimes Becky laughingly declared that they had grandchildren so often that she found it hard to keep up with them. "Little Mother" would joke about anything, but Pickens hoped that his sons and grandsons would see their duty and do it as he had tried to do. He often talked to them and to Becky's young kinsman, John C. Calhoun, about the development of their country and their responsibilities as citizens.

He and George Bowie, Margaret's husband, a successful lawyer at Abbeville, had spent hours discussing the future course of their state. Sometimes he wished Ezekiel or Andrew had gone into Bowie's office and practiced with him. At one time he had thought that John C. Calhoun might go with him after he left college, but like Ezekiel, he, too, had gone to Charleston and was in the law office of DeSaussure and Ford.

Somehow he believed that old Patrick Calhoun would like for his boy to be back home in the old district.

After his father's death, young John had often come to Andrew Pickens for advice. Near the age of Andrew, Jr., he had spent many nights in their home, and while in college the two young men had corresponded with each other.[21] And Patrick, the son of Alexander and Catherine Noble, would graduate from the College of New Jersey in June. The General had wanted Rebecca and William to wait until Patrick came home to be married, but they had not wanted to and Becky had said leave them alone, it was their wedding. He was glad though that Patrick had decided to go in the law office of George McDuffie. It looked as though the young people were managing their affairs all right—a new country needed young blood.

The wedding over, the household settled back to its daily routine. Catherine and Becky spent much time talking over the festivities, while the General and Joseph busied themselves with the crops.

In the summer of 1807, Pickens and Becky, after a visit to Rebecca, stopped at Abbeville to see their daughter Margaret Bowie. They were delighted to find that John C. Calhoun had entered the law office of George Bowie. While they were there, news was received that the British frigate *Leopard* had fired upon the American warship *Chesapeake*. The firing on the vessel was a culmination of a long series of abuses and the public reaction to the attack was overwhelming.

The citizens of Abbeville acted promptly and drew up a set of resolutions. Young Calhoun, speaking for the committee, delivered the resolutions to a large and enthusiastic crowd.[22] Listening to the speech, the General felt pride well in his heart and he wished old Patrick were there to hear his son advocate the principles for which they had stood. But knowing the arrogance and the tenacity of the British, Pickens feared for the future. The wound of the Revolution had not healed. Would his sons and the sons of his friends and neighbors have to finish the fight they had begun in 1775?

In 1808, Catherine married Dr. John Hunter and moved away to Alabama.[23] Since all of the children except his youngest son Joseph were married and settled, Pickens wrote his will. He had already provided for his daughters when they married, and he had given Hopewell plantation to Andrew, Jr., and Ezekiel.[24] He wanted Becky and Joseph to have the remaining property.

Becky was to get the house, furnishings, five hundred dollars, the slave Lucy, and what produce of the plantation she needed. The rest of his land, the cattle, horses, equipment, bonds, notes, etc., would go to Joseph. The will stated that should he die before Joseph came of age, thirty-five dollars a year should be paid to the church for the "support of the gospel." Furthermore, it was his wish that an industrious and humane overseer be kept to assure the welfare of the slaves, who by their labors had been the means of procuring the comforts he and his family had enjoyed. But if Joseph should die before he reached his majority, or before he had made a will, nine of the older slaves including Dick, Pompey, and Fillis, were to be free and given a hundred fifty acres on the northeast side of the Little River; they were also to get a pair of work horses, equipment, five good cows and calves, six sheep, four breeding sows, and provisions from the plantation during the first year of their freedom. Three of the General's neighbors were named as their guardians to advise them and see that they got justice should the need arise.[25]

Although Pickens had declined further participation in "public business,"[26] he was keenly alive to the issues of the day and watched with interest the development of his sons and the sons of his old comrades. Ezekiel had quit politics and divided his time between St. Thomas and his plantation near Pendleton; while Andrew, Jr., pursued his career as lawyer and planter from Hopewell. In 1809, John C. Calhoun and Patrick Noble formed a partnership and were well on their way to success, sharing with George Bowie and Benjamin Yancey the legal business of the district. Elected to the legislature the year before, Calhoun had a part in settling the differences that had existed for fifty years between the Carolina Low Country and the Up Country. A compromise to replace that of 1790 had been introduced and passed whereby the members of the assembly would be chosen on the basis of the population.[27] The General was pleased that Patrick Calhoun's son had had a share in the solution of the problem in which he and the father had previously played so conspicuous a part.

When Becky's cousin, Joseph Calhoun, who represented the counties of Abbeville, Newberry, and Laurens in Congress, announced that he was retiring, Andrew Pickens urged John C. Calhoun to run for the seat. He was elected by an overwhelming majority; no one was more delighted than the General and Becky.

When John C. Calhoun married Becky's niece, Floride Colhoun, on January 8, 1811, the Pickenses were probably present at the wedding. Since both of the young people were favorite relatives and the General's son Ezekiel lived nearby, it is likely that he and Becky arranged to visit him at that time. The Calhouns no doubt spent some time at Tamassee during the following months, as their home near Willington had not been completed, and Calhoun was more or less marking time until Congress convened in November. However, when the time came for him to take his seat in Washington, he was detained by the birth of his son, who was promptly named Andrew Pickens in honor of the General.[28]

Becky had been glad when the high-spirited Floride had married John. He was so solemn and serious. A lot like the General, she thought, not having much to say unless stirred up. Lately, though, the old man talked less and less to outsiders. Joseph had told her recently that one of the neighbors said he believed that before General Pickens said anything, he took the words out of his mouth and examined each one separately between his fingers before he uttered it. Becky smiled quietly to herself. Her husband had always been reserved, conversing little except with close friends, and even then talking guardedly, a trait that had become more pronounced with the years.

Meanwhile, at the request of Colonel Harry Lee, Pickens wrote several letters supplying information for his old comrade's *Memoirs of the Revolution.* But when the book was published, Pickens was disappointed in it and said it contained "many great inaccuracies." As he read it, he corrected the errors in the margins of his book.[29]

During that period, Pickens anxiously followed the state of affairs between the United States and England. And when John C. Calhoun supported the movement in Congress for war, he was not surprised. In June, 1812, while he and Becky were in Abbeville, Patrick Noble handed him a letter that he had just received from Calhoun, telling him that war had been declared against Great Britain.[30]

In that hour of danger, and without his knowledge, Andrew Pickens' friends called him back to the legislature.[31] Though seventy-three years old, he had not thought of declining. His country was again at war and he was needed. So once again he found himself in the legislative halls at Columbia where he took his stand for war.

Patrick Noble and George Bowie accompanied him to Columbia and there secured lodgings near the capitol. Upon arriving in Columbia, Pickens was sick, and because of this he did not attend committee meetings held at night. Whatever assemblies the chairman wanted him to attend were scheduled in the morning.[32]

Pickens found himself "pressed on all sides and by all parties" to become a candidate for governor. He hesitated to commit himself until the morning of November 27, and only then yielded when he was assured that the other candidates would withdraw from the race if he would offer for the place. The next morning, however, the candidates changed their minds and were once more busy in their own interests.[33]

Pickens' supporters were bitter and declared that there were more rascals in Columbia than in any other one place. They said it was their prayer that God would save the state, for the legislature would not. Friends of Pickens feared that rather than be bandied about by such factions and unprincipled characters, he would withdraw from the contest, and in spite of the general feelings that he would be the next governor, a few days before the election Pickens withdrew his name. The reason he gave was that he believed the running of the government should be left to younger and more active men.[34]

The following year, Ezekiel, whose health had been failing for several years, died.[35] The Pickenses had lost two children in infancy, but this was the first of the older ones to go, and they were deeply grieved by this first break in the family chain.

At the expiration of General Pickens' term in the legislature he declined to offer for re-election.[36] He and Becky were old, and he was needed at home. Since Ezekiel's death, Becky, although cheerful as usual, had become frail and thin. Anxiously the old General watched her, and the daughters who lived at a distance came to see her more often. So it was that with the family gathered around her bedside she died.

Back at home from the cemetery by the Stone Meeting House where Becky was buried, Pickens opened the big family Bible and beneath the line recording her birth wrote: "Departed this life on the morning of the 9th Decbr., 1814."[37]

A pall of sadness settled over the red house. Becky had been the light, the joy, the comfort of the home—forgetful of self, she had always been ready to "soothe and sympathize." But the lonely old General with stoic resignation "bowed with submission to his Father's will."[38] And during the long winter days that followed, he arranged for a stone to mark her grave, inscribing under her name, dates of birth and death:

SHE WAS THROUGH LIFE RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE AND DIED HUMBLY RELYING ON THE MERCY OF HER REDEEMER.[39]

In the years that followed Becky's death, Pickens seldom went far from home. Since he lived only four miles from the courthouse, he would go to court one day during the term to see his old friends. Dressed neatly and with a broad-brimmed beaver hat on his head, he moved about with as much solemnity as if in church, "every one giving way and addressing him respectfully, and he once in awhile touching his beaver." Occasionally, he would take an old friend by the hand, and after a short conversation would pass on. After two or three hours, he would mount his horse and ride back to Tamassee.

"At that date," William Martin wrote some years later, "I envied no man so much as I did him. And to see the homage paid to virtue! What a strong incentive to imitate it! . . . General Pickens was a rare instance of merit receiving its full and just reward. This was owing to a long and well-spent life in public and private employment, so that he became proverbial for honesty and fidelity, which stamped him with a character that awed the dissolute where ever he went."[40]

Having come safely through the War of 1812, the old General's son Andrew was inaugurated governor of South Carolina in 1817.[41] How proud Becky would have been if she had lived to see him take office.

In apparent good health the patriarch faced the summer of 1817. Joseph, who had married Carolina Henderson, managed the plantation but frequently consulted with his father as he sat in the shade of the big cedars reading the books he had ordered from Philadelphia and Charleston.[42] Still retaining his mental vigor, the General would sit by the hour with his books, papers, and letters he had received from his friends and children. When he grew tired, he would rest and look out over the rich fields of cotton and corn that stretched from the foot of the mound on which the red house stood to the nearby stream.

On just such a day, when he was almost seventy-eight, Andrew Pickens finished his midday dinner, gathered up the mail, and took it to his favorite spot beneath the cedars. And there seated in a chair, facing the mountains, he died.[43]

A long funeral procession of family and friends followed the simple casket over the winding road to the Stone Meeting House. In the cemetery near the site where he had held the Hopewell Treaties, the old General was laid to rest beside Becky. A short time later a stone was erected bearing the following inscription:[44]

GENL ANDREW PICKENS
WAS BORN
13TH SEPTEMBER 1739
AND DIED
11TH AUGUST 1817
HE WAS A CHRISTIAN
A PATRIOT AND SOLDIER.
HIS CHARACTER AND ACTIONS ARE
INCORPORATED WITH THE HISTORY OF HIS COUNTRY.
FILIAL AFFECTION AND RESPECT RAISE THIS
STONE TO HIS MEMORY.

But, today, as one stands inside the enclosure of the Pickens plot, other words which exemplify the character of the man seem to appear, words that six years before the General himself had written to Light Horse Harry Lee: "I leave it to my country to say, whether in my public transactions I have discharged the duties assigned me with honesty and fidelity, and whether I have been an humble instrument in the hand of Providence, I have a witness within myself that my public life and conduct have been moved and actuated by an ardent zeal for the welfare and happiness of my beloved country."[45]

Notes and References

I Into the Wilderness

[1] Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, III, 289; Records of Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 3, 19; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[2] Day, *Pickens Family*, 23, 37-40, 74-75, 79; *Skyagunsta*, 1.

[3] Records of Augusta County, Va., *Musters of Augusta County*, vol. II, 508; Order Book I; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[4] Pickens, A. L., *Skyagunsta: Major-General Andrew Pickens*, 1 (Cited hereafter as *Skyagunsta*); Day, Kate Pickens, *The Pickens Family*, 19-20; Family Papers; McCrady, Edward, *History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, 312 (Cited hereafter as McCrady *SCURG*).

[5] Andrew Pickens to Colonel Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry), August 28, 1811. Draper Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin (Cited hereafter as Pickens Papers).

[6] Howe, George, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina* (cited hereafter as Howe), I, 442-443; Fleming, D. H. *The Story of the Scotch Covenanters*, 72, 76.

[7] Howe, I, 288.

[8] Meriwether, R. L., *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765*, p. 138.

[9] *Skyagunsta*, 2.

[10] White, H. A., *Making of South Carolina*, 63 (Cited hereafter as White); McCrady, *SCURG*, 295-296, 316.

[11] Inventory of estate of Andrew Pickens, Sr., Anson County Court House, Wadesboro, N. C. Register of Deeds Office, Book B, No. 1, 294; Will of Andrew Pickens, Sr., Dept. of Archives and History of N. C., Wills 1663-1789, vol. XXIV, 42; Brady, Cyrus T., *The True Andrew Jackson*, Appendix, 423, 437.

[12] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[13] Ibid.; *Niles Register*, September 27, 1817; Dawson, Henry B., *Battles of the U. S.*, 487 (Cited hereafter as Dawson); On Sept. 17, 1758, Andrew Pickens signed the deed to the Waxhaw Presbyterian Church. The deed is in the South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S. C.

[14] Simms, *History of South Carolina*, 137 (Cited hereafter as Simms).

[15] *S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, VII (1904-1906), *The Calhoun Family*, by A. S. Salley, Jr., 85-86; McCrady, *SCURG*, 342-343.

[16] An old newspaper clipping. Francis P. Bacon Collection.

[17] *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Magazine*, VII (1904-1906), 84; Simms, 126. Becky's brothers were Patrick, Ezekiel, and John Ewing (Colhoun), who became U. S. Senator and the father of Floride, the wife of John C. Calhoun. Her sisters were Mary, Jean, and Catherine who married her

first cousin Alexander Noble. John Ewing changed the spelling of the family name to Colhoun, and his descendants are known variously by both spellings.

[18] Hennig, Helen Kohn, *Great South Carolinians*, 174-175 (Cited hereafter as Hennig).

[19] McCrady, *SCURG*, 347; Simms, 127; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, 10 (Cited hereafter as Jones).

[20] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[21] McCrady, *SCURG*, 350; Simms, 129; Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 61; *Niles Register*, Sept. 27, 1817.

[22] Hennig, 175.

[23] Pickens Papers, Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[24] McCrady, *SCURG*, 351-352; Simms, 133.

[25] Day, *Pickens Family*, 40; *Skyagunsta*, 4; Smith, W. R., *S. C. As a Royal Province*, 187.

[26] *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Magazine*, VII (1904-1906), 84; Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District*, 18; MS of Elizabeth B. Pickens, Pendleton, S. C., in *Monroe Pickens Scrapbook*. She said when John C. Calhoun would tell his children about the wedding, he would always say, "None of you will ever see such a good time."

[27] Mary Hemphill Greene, clipping from *The Greenville News* (no date), Greenville, S. C.

[28] Old newspaper clipping, Bacon Collection.

[29] Hennig, 175.

[30] *Monroe Pickens Scrapbook.* Clipping by Rachael Hemphill Minshall of Abbeville, *Greenville News* (no date).

[31] Howe, I, p. 440.

[32] Howe, II, p. 448.

[33] Francis W. Pickens to Charles Allen, Edgewood, March 26, 1848. Copy of letter owned by Dr. Nora Davis, Troy, S. C.; Duke, Land sale, Oct. 10, 1794 of tract of land and warehouse.

[34] Andrew Pickens, Sr.'s will, Dept. of Archives and History of N. C., *Wills 1663-1789*, XXIV, 42.

[35] Ezekiel Calhoun's will, *Will Book, 1760-1767*, 201. Becky shared equally with her brothers and sisters in two-thirds of the personal property, chattel, and lands in South Carolina and Virginia. Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C.

[36] *Monroe Pickens Scrapbook.* Clipping by Rachael H. Minshall.

[37] Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, 349; Jaynes, *The Old Waxhaws*, 14.

[38] Hennig, 176.

[39] Howe, George, *History of the Presbyterian Church in S. C.*, I, 448; Monroe Pickens' Scrapbook, Elizabeth Pickens' MS: *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XX, 78.

[40] McCrady, *SCURG*, 658-659.

[41] Hooker, Richard J. (Ed.) *The Carolina Back Country on the Eve of the Revolution, The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason.* For background see 166-171.

[42] White, 66-67, 155; McCrady *SCURG*, 639-640, 659, 758.

[43] Mortgage Book 3, 378, S. C. Historical Commission. The mortgage was paid off as both slaves were mentioned in Andrew Pickens' will in 1809.

[44] Wallace, D. D., *History of S. C.*, II, 59 (Cited hereafter as Wallace).

[45] Johnson, William, *Traditions and Rem. of the American Rev.*, 45: Smith, 134; Wallace, II, 59.

[46] Ibid., *Press and Banner*, Abbeville, S. C., June 17, 1878.

[47] *Skyagunsta*, 5.

II Frontier Fighting

[1] *Skyagunsta*, 5.

[2] *Press and Banner*, Abbeville, S. C., June 17, 1878.

[3] Gibbes, *Documentary Hist. of the Am. Rev., 1764-1776*, 107-116 (Cited hereafter as Gibbes).

[4] Ibid., 105-106; McCrady (1775-1780), 41.

[5] Gibbes, 105-106.

[6] Ibid., 143-144.

[7] Ibid., 232. A clipping from the *Press and Banner*, June 14, 1876, says that the "preaching shed" was at Fort Boone, the home of Alexander Noble.

[8] Ibid., 164-166. September 1, 1775.

[9] Ibid., 162-163.

[10] Ibid., 166-169.

[11] Ibid., 163.

[12] Ibid., 184-191.

[13] McCrady (1775-1780), 86-87; Simms, 190. Upon an order from Major Andrew Williamson, Robert Cunningham was arrested and sent to Charleston to appear before the Council. He was charged with seditious words on a warrant sworn out by Captain Caldwell.

[14] Ibid., 89; 192.

[15] Gibbes (1764-1776), 221; McCrady (1775-1780) 90-91.

[16] In later years the site of the blockhouse or Fort Pickens, as it was then called, was owned by the Hemphill family of Abbeville. Today a marker marks the site of old Fort Pickens. The inscription: "This stone marks the place where in 1767 General Andrew Pickens built a Block House as a place of refuge against the Indians. It was used as a fort during the Revolutionary War and was known as Fort Pickens."

[17] McCrady (1775-1780), 89.

[18] Gibbes (1764-1776), 217; Simms, 192.

[19] Hennig, 176.

[20] Gibbes (1764-1776), 218.

[21] Ibid., 217.

[22] Pickens Papers. William Martin to Draper, January 1, 1843.

[23] Gibbes (1764-1776), 218.

[24] Ibid., 214-215; McCrady (1775-1780), 92.

[25] Gibbes (1764-1780), 216, 218. One Whig was killed and eleven wounded, and twenty-seven Tories were killed.

[26] Ibid., 240; McCrady (1775-1780), 94-96. Richardson's letter to Laurens, Camp Survey, Duncan's Creek, Dec. 12, 1775. McCrady says that Fletchall was found hiding in a hollow tree.

[27] Gibbes (1764-1776), 242. Richardson to Laurens, Dec. 22, 1775.

[28] Simms, 194.

[29] Ibid., 193: McCrady (1775-1780), 97; Gibbes (1764-1776), 242, 246-247.

[30] Ibid., 247.

[31] Ibid.; Simms, 193; Cooke, 152. The jealousy that had been developing between Williamson and Mayson now became evident, and when Williamson made his report to the Council, he failed to mention any of his officers by name. Simms says that both Pickens and Sumter were in the campaign. In a letter to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811, Pickens said, "I was of the same regiment with Williamson, he was a major at the commencement. . . . Early in the war I was advanced to a majority."

[32] Arthur, T. S., *History of Georgia*, 122 (Cited hereafter as Arthur); White, 106; Simms, 197; McCrady (1775-1780), 186-193. To secure his influence among the Indians, Cameron had taken a woman from one of the most influential Cherokee families and placed her at the head of his table. Her dress was the richest the country could afford and her furniture elegant. To increase his influence he had her distribute royal presents among the Indians.

[33] Ibid., 194.

[34] Ibid., 200.

[35] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[36] Ibid., *Williamson's Campaign of 1776.*

[37] Ibid.

[38] McCrady (1775-1780), 195.

[39] Pickens Papers. *Williamson's Campaign of 1776.*

[40] Ibid.; McCrady (1775-1780), 196.

[41] Ibid., 197; White, 107.

[42] Pickens Papers. *Williamson's Campaign of 1776.*

[43] Day, *The Pickens Family*, 75; Meriwether, R. L., *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 144. Robert Miller married Jane, the sister of General Pickens, prior to 1758. He served for a short time as pastor of the Waxhaw Presbyterian Church.

[44] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 746-747. Williamson to Gen. Rutherford, Aug. 14, 1776, Camp at Keowee; Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847; Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolution*, 83-86. In later years Pickens said he had determined "to live and die on the spot where he and twenty-five men beat fairly 185 picked warriors in a battle that was as bloody as ever recorded for the number engaged." In Francis Pickens' account of the Ring Battle, he calls the Indian scout Cornel; Garden calls him Brennan. In all probability he was Alexander Cornell, a half-breed Indian scout. See also second battle of Tamassee.

[45] Ibid.; Pickens, *Skyagunsta*, 24.

[46] McCrady (1775-1780), 197-198. Among the seriously wounded were Captains Neel and Lacy.

[47] Ibid., 197; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[48] Ibid., 198; Black Hole, September 19, 1776.

[49] Ibid.

[50] A branch of the Tennessee River.

[51] Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 48-49. The Indian losses were not known, but the white losses were thirteen dead and eighteen wounded.

[52] Drayton, John, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, II, 354-357.

[53] White, 107; McCrady (1775-1780), 198.

[54] Ibid., 199; Jones, II, 246; Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 53. Treaty held at De Witts Corner.

[55] Ibid., 54.

[56] McCrady (1775-1780), 639.

[57] Rice, J. H., Paper, *Meters and Bounds of Ninety Six*. Bacon Col.

[58] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[59] Gibbes, 233.

[60] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens, Nov. 4, 1847.

III Florida and Kettle Creek

[1] McCrady (1775-1780), 204.

[2] Rice, Paper, *Meters and Bounds of Ninety Six*, Bacon Col.

[3] Moultrie, William, *Memoirs*, I, 217.

[4] McCrady (1775-1780), 321-322; Jones, 288, 293; Arthur, 128; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[5] Jones, 289; McCrady (1775-1780), 322.

[6] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 223. Howe to Moultrie, June 12, 1778, Camp at ruins of St. Tonyn, Fla.

[7] Jones, 295; McCrady (1775-1780), 322.

[8] Jones, 296-298.

[9] Ibid., 300-302; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 225. Howe to Col. C. C. Pinckney, July 10, 1778, camp at ruins of St. Tonyn, Fla.

[10] Jones, 302.

[11] *Skyagunsta*, 38-39. Pickens to John Irwin, Aug. 29, 1778.

[12] *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 400-401. See for background.

[13] *Skyagunsta*, 38-39.

[14] Tomes, *Battles of America*, II, 170-172. (Cited hereafter as Tomes.) The battle took place December 29, 1778.

[15] McCrady (1775-1780), 337.

[16] Ibid.; Arthur, 147-149; Jones, 336.

[17] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[18] Dawson, I, 487. Dawson gives nine killed and 23 wounded.

[19] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, November 4, 1847; Jones, 341. Andrew Pickens delivered the brooch to Boyd's wife. He told her that he had died like a man. Turning on her heel, she said, "It's a lie . . . . No damned rebel has killed my husband!"

[20] Ibid. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[21] McCrady (1775-1780), 338; Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, II, 15-16; *Skyagunsta*, 47-48; Perry, *Reminiscences*, 170-175. Seventy men were found guilty of treason and sentenced to death, but only five were executed, the rest were pardoned.

[22] Tomes, II, 485-487; Jones, 336-341; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 683; Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolution*, II, 86; Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, II, 15-16; Lossing, *Field Book*, II, 712.

[23] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Jones, 346.

[26] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Tomes, 173-174. Lincoln, of Hingham, Massachusetts, was appointed major general in 1777.

[29] General William Moultrie of South Carolina.

[30] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 322, 324-326, 353.

[31] *Skyagunsta*, 51.

IV Paroled by Necessity

[1] Jones, 356-357; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 371-373.

[2] *Skyagunsta*, 47-48, 51-52. Pickens to Irwin, March 12, 1779; March 14, 1779; April 12, 1779.

[3] Jones, 358; Arthur, 167.

[4] McCrady (1775-1780), 385; Pickens Papers. Arthur Campbell to Governor Thomas Jefferson, March 15, 1779; Jones, 361.

[5] Dawson, 503. Extract from a letter from Prevost to Lord George Germain, Savannah, Aug. 4, 1779; McCrady (1775-1780), 383-384.

[6] Ibid., 387; Arthur, 170-171; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 479; Marshall, *Life of Washington*, I, 299.

[7] Simms, 235-237; McCrady (1775-1780), 387-389; Dawson, 499.

[8] Hildreth, *History of the U. S.*, vol. III, 280.

[9] Simms, 235-237; McCrady (1775-1780), 387-389.

[10] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 19; Dawson, 498-500.

[11] Ibid., 487-488; Landrum, J. B. O., *Colonial and Rev. History of Upper S. C.*, 296.

[12] Jones, 361-363; *Skyagunsta*, 52.

[13] Ibid., 53; Arthur, 171.

[14] *Skyagunsta*, 53; Hennig, 180. *See also* note 44, Chapter I.

[15] Simms, 238; Jones, 371-372.

[16] Ibid., 239; 379-381; McCrady (1775-1780), 405-407; Tomes, II, 200.

[17] Jones, 390-394.

[18] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 42.

[19] Ibid., 41; Jones, 396, 398-404; McCrady (1775-1780), 413; Tomes, II, 201.

[20] McCrady (1775-1780), 417; Simms, 245; Jones, 398-416; Arthur, 174-184. The French and American losses were heavy; French 337, South Carolina Continentals 250.

[21] McCrady (1775-1780), 419; Tomes, 198-202; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 43.

[22] McCall, *History of Georgia*, II (Cited hereafter as McCall), 296.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Simms, 241-242; Tomes, II, 206; McCrady (1775-1780), 431-433.

[25] Ibid., 527-528; Pickens Papers. Deposition of Andrew Pickens, July 3, 1798; McCall, II, 296.

[26] Jones, 445; *Skyagunsta*, 39-40. Early in the war the McGirt or McGirth family were loyal to the American cause. A Whig officer wanted a fine mare owned by Dan McGirth, but when he refused to sell the horse, the officer had him publicly whipped and imprisoned to await another lashing. McGirth escaped on the horse and fled to the British, declaring vengeance.

[27] Pickens Papers. July 3, 1798.

[28] *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 409-410. In 1780 Wells, Heard, and Davies served as governor of Georgia.

[29] Pickens Papers. July 3, 1798. The order was in Pickens' possession for many years, but was lost.

[30] Jones, 445-456; McCall, 465-466; Arthur, 196-197.

[31] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 27, 314 (Cited hereafter as Va. Hist. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.). William Campbell to William Preston, Aspinwall, Dec. 12, 1780. A letter from Elijah Clark was enclosed.

[32] Jones, 445-456; McCall, 465-466; Arthur, 196-197.

[33] Simms, 249-250.

[34] Ibid., 250; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 65-115.

[35] McCrady (1775-1780), 534; Jones, 448; McCall, II, 304; Arthur, 199; Simms, 250. Williamson finally took refuge with the British in Charleston, and was popularly branded with the epithet of the "Arnold of Carolina." However, it was well known that he was again "seduced into becoming a spy for the Americans in the British camp; and Marion obtained for himself and Greene the greater part of his information in respect to the operations of the enemy from this doubly polluted fountain."

[36] Jones, 448; Simms, 250-251; McCrady (1775-1780), 533-539, 551-552, 848; Johnson, *Traditions and Rem. of the American Rev.*, 150-151.

[37] Ibid.; *Skyagunsta*, Footnote, 3.

[38] Day, *Pickens Family*, 57; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1914*, gives Waxhaw, S. C., as the birthplace of Andrew Pickens, III. It is possible that Pickens sent his family to the Waxhaws before he left for Savannah.

[39] Mills, W. H., *The Thoroughbred in S. C., The Proceedings of the S. C. Historical Assn.* (1931-1939), 16.

[40] *Skyagunsta*, 54-55; Tomes, II, 215.

[41] Jones, 448.

[42] White, 118.

[43] Jones, 449; Arthur, 199.

[44] Tomes, II, 215.

[45] McCall, 482, 503; McCrady (1775-1780), 831, 834.

[46] Ibid., 615-616; 709-710, 733.

[47] *Skyagunsta,* 61; Johnson, *Traditions,* 153-154.

[48] White, 131-132.

[49] McCrady (1775-1780), 834; Ibid. (1780-1783), 19-20; Jones, 467; McCall, 504. James Dunlap, a captain in the Queen's Rangers, was infamous for his barbarity. He was shot and left for dead by Captain Gillespie after having abducted Mary McRae, who died while held by him.

[50] White, 145; McCall, 504; McCrady (1780-1783), 20-21.

[51] Ibid. (1775-1780), 834; Jones, 467; *Skyagunsta,* 63. Generations after, the name of Ker was cherished in the Pickens clan.

V The Battle of Cowpens

[1] McCrady (1780-1783), 22; McCall, 504.

[2] Ibid., 22, 32; 505; Jones, 468.

[3] McCrady (1775-1780), 856; Ibid. (1780-1783), 22.

[4] Hartley, *Life of Marion, Also Lives of Generals Moultrie and Pickens,* 272 (Cited hereafter as Hartley).

[5] McCrady (1780-1783), 22-23.

[6] Ibid., 1-15; Jones, 468.

[7] McCrady (1780-1783), 23; White, 145; McCall, 505.

[8] McCrady (1780-1783), 733.

[9] Johnson, *Life of Greene,* I, 371; *Skyagunsta,* 65, footnote 4.

[10] Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845; McCrady (1780-1783), 40.

[11] Tomes, II, 279.

[12] Ibid., 207; White, 147.

[13] *Skyagunsta,* 67-68.

[14] Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845; McCrady (1780-1783), 40-41.

[15] Rice, *Meters and Bounds of Ninety Six,* Bacon Col. Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845; Hartley, 272.

[16] McCrady (1775-1780), 533-539, 848; Ibid. (1780-1783), 23; Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.; Johnson, *Life of Greene,* I, 377-379; Dawson, I, footnote, 648.

[19] Tomes, II, 302; *Skyagunsta,* 69.

[20] Johnson, *Life of Greene,* I, 377-379; McCrady (1780-1783), 42-43.

[21] Ibid., 43; Tomes, II, 299.

[22] White, 147.

[23] Simms, 248; McCrady (1780-1783), 42.

[24] Ibid., 43.

[25] Ibid., 43-44; Dawson, I, 648-653; Simms, 285; White, 148; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Nov. 25, 1811.

[26] McCrady (1780-1783), 45; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 255. Howard was the officer who made the statement.

[27] McCrady (1780-1783), 45-47, see footnote 45.

[28] Ibid., 47-48; *Niles Register*, Sept. 27, 1817; White, 149.

[29] Dawson, I, 488.

[30] McCrady (1780-1783), 48.

[31] Ibid., 49-50; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 383.

[32] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[33] White, 149; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 383; McCrady (1780-1783), 51 (See footnote).

[34] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[35] Ibid., Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811; McCrady (1780-1783), 99.

[36] Tomes, II, 302.

[37] Charleston *News and Courier*, May 10, 1881, Charleston, S. C.

[38] Jones, 471; Bancroft, *History of the U. S.*, X, 466; McCrady (1780-1783), 55.

VI Invasion of North Carolina

[1] Tomes, II, 303; McCrady (1780-1783), 92.

[2] Gregorie, Anne King, *Thomas Sumter*. Footnote, 79. Ramsour's Mill was at the edge of the present town of Lincolnton, N. C.

[3] Pickens Papers. Samuel Hammond to Pickens.

[4] Tomes, II, 310-311.

[5] McCrady (1780-1783), 90, 94-95.

[6] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[7] McCrady (1780-1783), 120; Tomes, II, 311. The prisoners were taken to Charlottesville, Va.

[8] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811. Some historians call McGowan's Ford, Gowan Ford.

[9] Tomes, II, 312; Emmet, Thomas Addis, Collection (Cited hereafter as EM), N. B. (Nisbet Balfour) to Lord George Germaine, Charleston, Feb. 18, 1781.

[10] Tomes, II, 312-313; Simms, 289.

[11] Tomes, II, 313; EM N. B. to Germaine, Feb. 18, 1781. He said that Tarleton defeated a corps of enemy under Col. Pickens on February 1, "killing and taking many and entirely dispersing the rest."

[12] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 435.

[13] *State Records of N. C.*, XVI, vii; XIX, 960; Cooke, 188-189. Cooke says that the result of Pickens' leadership occasioned Lee and other historians to mistake the N. C. militia for S. C. troops.

[14] Perry, *Reminiscences*, 172; Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845.

[15] Clements Library (hereafter cited with the prefix CL), Greene to Pickens, Feb. 3, 1781, Light Infantry Camp on Yadkin River at Island Fork.

[16] Tomes, II, 314-316.

[17] McCrady (1780-1783), 120; Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter*, 135. The command was offered to Morgan, but he refused it as he had decided to retire from the army on account of ill health. A week after the Cowpens victory, Morgan asked Greene for a leave of absence, declaring that "General Davidson, Colonel Pickens, and General Sumter . . . can manage the militia better than I can and will well supply my place."

[18] Tomes, II, 217, 286, 316.

[19] Duke University, Pickens to Greene, Feb. 19, 1781, Guilford Courthouse; Pickens Papers. Col. Richard A. Allen's letter; Tarleton, *History of the Campaign, 1780-1781*, 226-227. When Loche was killed, Tarleton found papers on his body in which Greene said that he had full confidence in Pickens to harass and impede the progress of the British until the district beyond the Yadkin could be placed in a state of defense.

[20] CL, Greene to Pickens, Camp Halifax, Feb. 19, 1781; Irwin's Ferry, Feb. 20, 1781; Feb. 21, 1781.

[21] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 456. Pickens' army had many expert horsemen.

[22] Hartley, 272.

[23] *State Records of N.C.*, XIX, 969, 980, 990; Johnson *Life of Greene*, I, 457; CL, Pickens to Greene, Camp Hico, Feb. 23, 1781; Greene to Pickens, Camp Dobbins' Ferry, Feb. 26, 1781. Greene wrote Pickens, "I . . . acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 23rd wherein you acquaint me with the surprise of a British picket by Colonel McCall. . . . The affair . . . was executed with firmness and address, and discovered a spirit of enterprise and genius which I shall ever . . . cherish."

[24] Cooke, 189.

[25] Tomes, II, 14.

[26] Cooke, 189.

[27] Ibid.; Dawson, I, 685.

[28] Tomes, II, 316.

[29] CL, Greene to Pickens, Camp Irwin's Ferry, Feb. 21, 1781; Duke, Pickens to Greene, Feb. 19, 1781.

[30] Tomes, II, 317; McCrady (1780-1783), 122-123; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 450-451.

[31] Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 178.

[32] Ibid., 179; CL, Pickens to Greene, Camp 10 miles from Hillsboro, Feb. 21, 1781.

[33] *State Records of N. C.*, XXII, 100-101. Pyle's defeat.

[34] Ibid.; McCrady (1780-1783), 123.

[35] Ibid., 125; *Memoirs, Correspondence and Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 211; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 182-183.

[36] Ibid., 182-183; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 452-453.

[37] Ibid., 453-457; CL, Greene to Pickens, Camp Dobbins' Ferry, Feb. 26, 1781. In writing about Pyle's defeat, Greene wrote Pickens, "My warmest thanks are due to you, Col. Lee, and all the officers and soldiers under your

command for the exertions which were made to bring about so happy an event."

[38] McCrady (1780-1783), 125.

[39] Tomes, II, 320.

[40] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, I, 410; *Colonial Records of N. C.*, XXII, 123-124, 141.

[41] Swem, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II (Cited hereafter as Swem), Col. William Preston to Gov. Thomas Jefferson, April 13, 1781.

[42] *Memoirs, Cor. and Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 211; Sparks, *Cor. of the American Revolution*, Jefferson to Washington, March 8, 1781, III, 258.

[43] Dawson, I, 183; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 266.

[44] *State Records of N. C.*, XXII, 141-142.

[45] Tomes, II, 320-321; Marshall, *Life of Washington*, I, 411.

[46] Dawson, I, 187.

[47] Tomes, II, 321.

[48] CL, Pickens to Greene, Camp Shearer's, March 5, 1781.

[49] *Skyagunsta*, 88.

[50] CL, Field Return of Strength of Brigade under General Andrew Pickens, March 4, 1781.

[51] Ibid., I. Burnett to Pickens, Headquarters, Thompson's Camp near Boyd's Mill, March 5, 1781 (aide de camp to Greene).

[52] Swem, Preston to Gov. Thomas Jefferson, April 13, 1781.

[53] Duke, Pickens to Greene, Guilford Courthouse, Feb. 19, 1781.

[54] Ibid.; CL, Pickens to Greene, Camp Shearer's, March 5, 1781.

[55] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, II, 4.

[56] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, I, 462. Lee was under the command of Pickens during this period, but if the reader will refer to the account of affairs and of the event of Wetzell's Mill "as furnished by Colonel Lee, he will find, as usual, his commander is thrown in the background, whilst his whole full length portrait fills up half the canvass."

[57] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[58] Ibid.; CL, Greene to Pickens, March 8, 1781.

[59] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811; Duke, Pickens to Greene, Guilford Courthouse, Feb. 19, 1781.

VII The Siege of Augusta

[1] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811; McCrady (1780-1783), 509.

[2] Ibid., 139-140.

[3] *Skyagunsta*, 90.

[4] McCrady (1780-1783), 126-127, 145, 513; Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter*, 146-150; *Journal of the House of Representatives of S. C.* (Columbia, 1916), 79.

[5] Tomes, II, 325; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Sumter, March 20, 1781. The battle of which Pickens speaks was Guilford Courthouse that was fought March 15.

[6] McCrady (1780-1783), 127-128.

[7] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 195; Duke, Pickens to Greene, Camp Enoree, S. C., April 18, 1781. Later, when the question arose as to the cause of Dunlap's death, Greene sent a copy of Pickens' order, wherein he offered the reward to Colonel Balfour (a British officer) at Charleston, saying he believed Dunlap was murdered.

[8] Ibid.; CL, Greene to Pickens, May's Mill, April 15, 1781.

[9] Hennig, 184; Simms, 307.

[10] CL, Greene to Pickens, May's Mill, April 15, 1781; Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[11] McCrady (1780-1783), 163; Ramsay, *Revolution in S. C.*, II, 227; Lee, *Memoirs of the War of 1776*, 325.

[12] McCrady (1780-1783), 169.

[13] Duke, Pickens to Greene, Camp Enoree, April 8, 1781.

[14] *Year Book, City of Charleston, 1899*, Sumter to Greene, Catawba, April 13, 1781, 8-9.

[15] McCrady (1780-1783), 258, 262-263.

[16] *Year Book, City of Charleston, 1899*, Sumter to Greene, April 25, 1781, 10-11; Duke, Pickens to Greene, May 8, 1781.

[17] McCrady (1780-1783), 263-265; McCall, II, 367-368.

[18] McCrady (1780-1783), 215.

[19] CL, Pickens to Greene, Snow Hill, May 3, 1781.

[20] Ibid., Greene to Pickens, Camp Colonel's Creek, west side of Wateree, May 9, 1781.

[21] Pickens Papers. *Siege of Augusta*, by Dr. A. L. Hammond; Duke, Pickens to Greene, May 8, 1781, Cuffy Town.

[22] Pickens Papers. *Siege of Augusta*; Jones, 480; McCrady (1780-1783), 265. A substantial brick house erected by George Galphin, the famous Indian trader, on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, twelve miles below Augusta.

[23] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 133; Duke, Pickens to Greene, Grierson Fort, May 25, 1781. Pickens wrote, "Last Saturday Lee arrived at my camp."

[24] McCall, II, 371; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 131.

[25] Ibid., 129-130; Duke, Grierson Fort, Pickens to Greene, May 25, 1781 (two letters of that date); McCrady (1780-1783), 267.

[26] Pickens Papers. *Siege of Augusta.*

[27] Greene, *Life of Nathanel Greene*, 300-301.

[28] Gibbes (1764-1776), 236.

[29] Dawson, I, 673; McCrady (1780-1783), 268.

[30] Duke, Pickens to Greene, Grierson Fort, May 25, 1781; Jones, 483; McCrady (1780-1783), 268-269.

[31] Ibid., 483; 269-270.

[32] Tomes, II, 348.

[33] McCrady (1780-1783), 270. Designed by Hezekiah Maham of Marion's brigade and used for the first time at Fort Watson.

[34] Jones, 485-486.

[35] Ibid., 486-487; Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of S. C.*, 323.

[36] Dawson, I, 673-679.

[37] Duke, Pickens to Greene, Camp before Augusta, June 2, 1781.

[38] Jones, 487-488.

[39] McCrady (1780-1783), 272.

[40] Jones, 489-490; Arthur, 224-227.

[41] Jones, 490-493.

[42] Duke, Brown to Pickens and Lee, June 5, 1781.

[43] Arthur, 224-227; Jones, 490-493.

[44] Ibid.; Johnson, *Life of Greene,* II, 133. The report of the siege was made by Pickens alone.

[45] Arthur, 221-222.

[46] Jones, 484. The old father of Samuel Alexander told of being tied behind a cart when taken prisoner and flogged severely when he attempted to rest along the road to the British post at Augusta.

[47] Ibid., 483; Gibbes (1781-1782), 91; Johnson, *Life of Greene,* II, 135. The American officers, not realizing that Grierson was "scarcely less odious to the Georgians" than Brown himself, had not guarded him with the same precautions they had used in protecting Brown.

[48] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[49] CL, I. Burnet, aide-de-camp to General Greene, to Pickens, June 11, 1781; Jones, 483; McCrady (1780-1783), 277.

[50] Ibid., 273, 277, 286.

VIII The Siege of Ninety Six

[1] McCrady (1780-1783), 281; *The Press and Banner*, Abbeville, S. C., June 19, 1878. *Ninety Six, the History of the Fort*, by Rev. Robert Lathan. Reprinted from *Yorkville Enquirer.*

[2] Simms, 310.

[3] McCrady (1780-1783), 280-281; *Press and Banner*, June 19, 1878, *Ninety Six.*

[4] McCrady (1780-1783), 281; Simms, 311; Dawson, I, 692.

[5] Tomes, II, 349.

[6] Ibid.; *Press and Banner*, June 19, 1878; Simms, 312.

[7] CL, Greene to Pickens, Camp before Ninety Six, June 1, 1781.

[8] Tomes, II, 349-350.

[9] Tomes, II, 351.

[10] Tomes, II, 351.

[11] McCrady (1780-1783), 296; *Sumter MSS Year Book, City of Charleston, 1899*, Appendix 112.

[12] Jones, 493-494; McCrady (1780-1783), 277.

[13] Dawson, I, 694.

[14] *Press and Banner*, June 19, 1878, *Ninety Six*.

[15] Pickens Papers.

[16] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 144.

[17] Tomes, II, 352; Dawson, I, 694; McCrady (1780-1783), 291.

[18] Ibid., 294-295, Tomes, II, 352.

[19] *Sumter MSS Year Book, City of Charleston, 1899*, Appendix 110-111.

[20] Tomes, II, 352; McCrady (1780-1783), 293.

[21] Ibid., 296.

[22] Tomes, II, 352.

[23] McCrady (1780-1783), 296-297.

[24] *Press and Banner*, June 19. 1878, *Ninety Six*.

[25] Tomes, II, 352.

[26] *Press and Banner*, June 19, 1878, *Ninety Six*.

[27] Tomes, II, 352.

[28] Ibid., 353; McCrady (1780-1783), 299-300.

[29] CL, Greene to Pickens, Camp before Ninety Six, June 19, 1781; Stedman, *American War*, II, 373; McCrady (1780-1783), 300-301. American losses were 185 men, dead and wounded; British losses were 27 dead and 58 wounded.

[30] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811; Rice, *Meter and Bounds of Ninety Six*, Francis P. Bacon Collection.

[31] *Press and Banner*, Abbeville, S. C., June 19, 1878, *Ninety Six*.

[32] *Skyagunsta*, 103; Chapman, *History of S. C.*, 133-134 (Cited hereafter as Chapman).

[33] A slave.

[34] *Skyagunsta*, 103; Chapman, 133-134.

[35] Hennig, 175-179.

IX The Expedition of the Dog Days

[1] CL Greene to Pickens, June 23, 1781, Indian Creek, Headquarters; McCrady (1780-1783), 301.

[2] Ibid., 302; CL Pickens to Greene, Camp near "Grindel's Sholes," 30th June, 1781.

[3] McCrady (1780-1783), 306-307; Tomes, II, 355.

[4] Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, Greene's report to the President of Congress, July 17, 1781.

[5] CL Pickens to Greene, Colonel Taylor's House, 6th July, 1781.

[6] Ibid., Captain Joseph Toles to Pickens, Bush River, July 7, 1781.

[7] Ibid., Pickens to Greene, Camp Bear Creek, Dutch Fork, 10 o'clock at night, July 10, 1781 ("Juniper in the fork of the Augusta and Ninety Six

roads"—Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter,* 166). McCrady (1780-1783), 314. McCrady says that Cruger commenced his march on July 8th.

[8] Ibid., 315; Simms, 316; Johnson, *Life of Greene,* II, 163-164.

[9] Ibid., 165.

[10] McCrady (1780-1783), 315-316; CL Greene to Pickens, Headquarters, High Hills of Santee, July 22, 1781.

[11] Ibid., Greene to Pickens, Headquarters, Colonel Thompson's, July 15, 1781.

[12] Dawson, I, 705; McCrady (1780-1783), 316-317.

[13] Ibid., 326.

[14] Ibid., 322; CL Greene to Pickens, Headquarters, Colonel Thompson's, July 15, 1781 (two letters).

[15] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Hammond.

[16] Tomes, II, 356-357.

[17] Simms, 336-337; CL Greene to Pickens, High Hills of Santee, July 22, 1781.

[18] Ibid.; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene,* 333.

[19] Tomes, II, 363-365.

[20] Ibid., 367; McCrady (1780-1783), 434.

[21] Ibid., 413, 436-437; Dawson, I, 670, 699.

[22] Tomes, II, 367; McCrady (1780-1783), 437-438.

[23] Ibid., 438; Long Island Historical Society, Pickens to Greene, Fitzpatrick's Plantation, 5th September, 1781.

[24] CL N. Pendleton (aide to Greene) to Pickens, Sloutemire's Plantation, Headquarters, Sept. 5, 1781; Johnson, *Life of Greene,* 219; McCrady (1780-1783), 438-441.

[25] Ibid., 440, 459. Sumter was absent suffering from a wound.

[26] Ibid., 324-343; Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Feb. 9, 1845.

[27] McCrady (1780-1783), 458-459.

[28] Ibid., 441-442; Tomes, II, 367.

X The Battle of Eutaw Springs

[1] Johnson, *Life of Greene,* II, 219; Simms, 258; Tomes, II, 368; McCrady, (1780-1783), 442.

[2] Ibid, 446; Tomes, II, 368.

[3] *Skyagunsta,* 107.

[4] Tomes, II, 368.

[5] McCrady (1780-1783), 448

[6] Ibid.; Simms, 337-338.

[7] McCrady (1780-1783), 449; Tomes, II, 369.

[8] McCrady (1780-1783), 444; *Heroes and Battles of the Am. Rev.,* By a Veteran Soldier, 228-229.

[9] Tomes, II, 369-370; McCrady (1780-1783), 450.

[10] Bancroft, *Hist. of the U. S.*, V, 503; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 394.

[11] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 225.

[12] McCrady (1780-1783), 451.

[13] Tomes, II, 370; *Heroes and Battles of the Am. Rev.*, By a Veteran Soldier, 230-231.

[14] Ibid.; McCrady (1780-1783), 454.

[15] Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, (1775-1783); *Niles Register*, Sept. 27, 1817; Perry, *Reminiscences*, B. F. Perry says that near the close of the battle Pickens was shot from his horse; Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens letter, Nov. 4, 1847; McCrady (1780-1783), 461-462; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 236.

[16] Tomes, II, 372.

[17] McCrady (1780-1783), 456.

[18] Ibid.; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 230.

[19] McCrady (1780-1783), 457-458; Tomes, II, 373.

[20] McCrady (1780-1783), 460.

[21] Ibid., 462. As Campbell was dying he asked how the battle was going. When he was told that the enemy was routed, he said, "I die contented."

[22] Ibid., 461. Major Majoribanks' grave is on the Santee Canal Road.

[23] Tomes, II, 373.

[24] Leiding, *Historic Houses of S. C.*, 138; Chapman, 143-144. A monument has been erected on the battlefield at Eutaw Springs.

XI Tories and Indians

[1] Perry, *Reminiscences*, 171; Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens' letter, Nov. 4, 1847.

[2] McCrady (1780-1783), 479-480.

[3] *Skyagunsta*, 107-108.

[4] Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 343-344.

[5] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 240.

[6] Tomes, II, 375; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 295.

[7] McCrady (1780-1783), 467-470. Bill Cunningham came from a family friendly to the Whigs, but from alleged mistreatment and the murder of an epileptic brother by a professed Whig, he joined the Tories and became "a fiend incarnate."

[8] Ibid. Early in August

[9] Simms, 350-366; Tomes, II, 376; CL Pickens to Greene, Camp Long, July 25, 1781.

[10] McCrady (1780-1783), 471-472; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 302-303; Johnson, *Traditions and Rem.*, 420-421.

[11] McCrady (1780-1783), 473.

[12] Ibid., 474-475; Simms, 351.

[13] McCrady (1780-1783), 475; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, II, 273; Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 644-645.

[14] McCrady (1780-1783), 475; *Skyagunsta*, 109.

[15] Ibid., 475-476; Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 301-302.

[16] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847; Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 342; CL Greene to Pickens, Col. Thompson's, July 15, 1781.

[17] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847; McCrady (1780-1783), 475.

[18] Ibid., 476. Another Tory leader who appeared at this time and was known as "Colonel Williams."

[19] *Skyagunsta*, 109.

[20] Pickens Papers. *General Andrew Pickens' Ancestry;* McCall, 535.

[21] Ibid.; *Skyagunsta*, 110.

[22] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[23] McCrady (1780-1783), 624.

[24] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[25] EM 6670, Pickens to General Elijah Clark, Jan. 25, 1782.

[26] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Colonels Casey and Roebuck, Long Canes, Feb. 8, 1782.

[27] EM 6670, Pickens to Clark, Jan. 25, 1782; *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, I, 191, Gov. Mathews to Gov. Harrison of Va., June 12, 1782.

[28] McCrady (1780-1783), 624.

[29] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Stevens, II, *History of Georgia*, 283, Pickens to Clark, Long Canes, April 3, 1782.

[32] McCrady (1780-1783), 625; McCall, II, 698.

[33] Ibid., 624.

[34] Stevens, II, *History of Georgia*, 285.

[35] McCrady (1780-1783), 625; Jones, 503.

[36] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Hammond, March 1, 1782; Pickens to Hammond, Long Canes, March 12, 1782.

[37] SCL, Pickens to Gov. Martin of Georgia, June 22, 1782; *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, I, 271-272, Col. Arthur Campbell to Col. Davies, Aug. 26, 1782; Jones, 503.

[38] CL, Pickens to Greene, Camp Long, July 25, 1781.

[39] *Skyagunsta*, 113; Clipping, Bacon Col.

[40] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 252; McCrady (1780-1783), 465, 483.

[41] Ibid., 554.

[42] Lodge, *History of Nations*, I, 282.

[43] McCrady (1780-1783), 492-493.

[44] Ibid., 484.

[45] Ibid., Appendix A, 742; Hennig, 182.

[46] Moultrie, I, 304.

[47] White, 157.

[48] *Journal of the House of Rep.*, 1782, Jan. 18, 12; McCrady (1780-1783), 565-566; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, 334-342; Moultrie, I, 311.

[49] McCrady (1780-1783), 569; Moultrie, I, 318; *Journal of the House of Rep.*, 1782, Jan. 22nd, 20.

[50] Hennig, 149.

[51] Moultrie, I, 327-336. Gen. Leslie to Gen. Greene, April 4, 1782; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, II, 355-364.

[52] Tomes, II, 378.

[53] McCrady (1780-1783), 360, 637-638; Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*, IV, 291.

[54] CL, William Pierce, Jr. (aide-de-camp), to Pickens, Headquarters, Ashley Hall, July 23, 1782; I. Burnett (aide-de-camp), to Pickens, Headquarters, July 28, 1782; EM, A. S. (Alexander Stuart) to Sir Guy Carleton, Charleston, July 19, 1782.

[55] McCrady (1780-1783), 637-638.

[56] Johnson, *Life of Greene*, II, 346; McCrady (1780-1783), 652; Leiding, *Historic Houses of S. C.*, 21.

[57] Ibid., McCrady (1780-1783), 637-638.

[58] Ibid., 652-653; *Skyagunsta*, 114; Hennig, 150.

XII The Last Expedition Against the Cherokees

[1] CL, Pickens to Greene, Near Mrs. Coachman's, Aug. 9, 1782; Pickens to Greene, Long Canes, Sept. 7, 1782.

[2] National Archives and Records: War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Pickens to Butler, Long Canes, Aug. 21, 1782.

[3] CL, Pickens to Greene, Long Canes, Sept. 7, 1782. Inventory of County Archives of S. C., I, Abbeville County.

[4] McCrady (1780-1783), 594.

[5] Ibid., 653-654; SCL, Pickens to Gov. Martin, June 22, 1782.

[6] Hays, *Creek Indians: Letters, Talks, and Treaties*, 1705-1839, 25. Gov. Martin to Pickens, May 27, 1782.

[7] SCL, Pickens to Gov. Martin, June 22, 1782; McCrady (1780-1783), 653-654.

[8] Ibid.; Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811; Swem, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 318. Campbell to Davie, Washington Co., Sept. 20, 1782.

[9] SCL, Pickens to Gov. Martin, June 22, 1782.

[10] Swem, *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, vol. III, 191, Gov. Mathews to Gov. Harrison of Va., June 12, 1782; Colonel Arthur Campbell to Colonel Davies, Aug. 26, 1782, 271-272.

[11] CL Pickens to Greene, Long Canes, Sept. 7, 1782. General McDowell wrote Pickens his men could not be ready to march before the middle of September.

[12] Arthur, 229.

[13] National Archives and Records: War Dept. Collection of Rev. Records. Pickens to Butler, Aug. 21, 1782.

[14] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 11, 1811.

[15] McCrady (1780-1783), 654-655.

[16] Pickens Papers. *Pickens' Campaign of 1781.* This account, given by Andrew Pickens, a cousin of the General's, has the wrong date. The campaign took place in September and October of 1782.

[17] Ibid. The swords had been made by local blacksmiths for the expedition.

[18] Ibid. He later became governor of Georgia.

[19] Ibid. John Pickens, the older brother of David, had sided with the British. He had enticed his younger brother to leave the settlement and go to the Indians. After his capture, David joined the Patriots and rendered valuable service as a spy on the frontier. John eventually went to Natchez where he married, lived, and died.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811; McCall, II, 411-414; McCrady (1780-1783), 655.

[22] Ibid., 656; Wallace, 312; Ramsay, *Rev. in S. C.*, 350-364.

[23] McCrady (1780-1783), 656.

[24] Pickens, *Skyagunsta,* 122.

[25] Hennig.

[26] Nat. Archives: War Dept. Col. of Rev. Records. Pickens to Butler, Dec. 20, 1782.

XIII Peace at Long Last

[1] Horry and Weems, *Life of Marion,* 230-233.

[2] McCrady (1780-1783), 673-674; Moultrie, II, 358-361; *Russell's Magazine*, IV, 128.

[3] McCrady (1780-1783), 730. Sumter had resigned after the adjournment of the Jacksonborough Assembly in February, 1782.

[4] Ibid., 738.

[5] Ibid.; Bancroft, V, 375.

[6] Nat. Archives and Records: War Dept. Col. of Rev. War Records. Pickens to Capt. William Butler, Long Canes, Dec. 20, 1872.

[7] McCrady (1780-1783), 681-682, 685.

[8] Ibid.; *Statutes of S. C.*, IV, March 16, 1783, 560.

[9] *Journal of the House of Rep.*, Feb. 3, 1783, 227.

[10] McCrady (1780-1783), 685.

[11] *Journal of the House of Rep., 1783,* 227. There is no record that the medal was ever presented.

[12] Wallace, 326, 329.

[13] Jaynes, address at memorial service when tablet was placed to memory of General Pickens at Tamassee.

[14] Perry, *Reminiscences*, 171.

[15] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[16] McCall, II, 548.

[17] Gibbes (1764-1776), 236. In times of peace the buildings served as chair-houses and offices, but in war became forts.

[18] Arthur, 253; McCall, 548.

[19] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Guerard, April 13, 1784.

[20] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Guerard, May 9, 1784.

[21] Wallace, II, 338-339; *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of Nineteenth Century*, I, 651.

[22] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Guerard, May 9, 1784.

[23] Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist*, 23.

[24] *Hist. and Gen. Magazine*, II, 159; *Skyagunsta*, 123.

[25] *The Proceedings of the S. C. Hist. Assn.*, 1931-1939, 51-52. The treaty was between the Cherokees and states of Georgia and S. C.

[26] *Inventory of County Archives of S. C.*, I, *Abbeville County.*

[27] Chapman, *History of Edgefield County*, Young Andrew, the son of General Pickens, drew the first jury impanelled in the district.

[28] Rice (Indexer of S. C. Records), *Meter and Bounds of Ninety Six.* An address delivered before the Andrew Pickens D. A. R. Chapter, Ninety Six, S. C., April 1, 1896. Bacon Col.

[29] *Diary of an Unknown Traveller* (1811).

[30] Rice, *Meter and Bounds of Ninety Six*, Bacon Col.

[31] *Skyagunsta*, 124; Private papers, Dr. Nora Davis, Troy, S. C.

[32] Day, *The Pickens Family*, 72.

[33] *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, 288. (Cited hereafter as ASPIA). Douglas spent a number of years in the General's home as a tutor.

[34] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[35] *Indent, No. 68, Book K,* Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C.

XIV The Treaties of Hopewell

[1] Howe, II, 560.

[2] *Indent, No. 60, Book K,* Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C. Dr. W. H. Mills, *Life of General Andrew Pickens* (paper), 12, Clemson College Library.

[3] Howe, I, 559-560.

[4] Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 336.

[5] *DAB.*

[6] Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 336; Saunders, *N. C. State Records*, XVII, 431 (Cited hereafter as *N. C. S. R.*).

[7] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 62 (Cited hereafter as Pickett).

[8] *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXVIII, 183.

[9] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVII, 473-475.

[10] Wallace, 339.

[11] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVII, 473-475.

[12] Hays, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 12, Atlanta Archives.

[13] SCL, Andrew Pickens to Gov. Samuel Elbert of Ga., Greenwich, 14th of September, 1785.

[14] Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 152 note.

[15] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVII, 658.

[16] Hays, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 12, Atlanta Archives.

[17] SCL, Andrew Pickens to Gov. Samuel Elbert of Ga., Sept. 19, 1785.

[18] Elbert to Pickens, Hawkins, and Martin, July 20, 1785. *Georgia Historical Collection*, V, part II, 212; Joseph Martin to Gen. William Russell, Aug. 9, 1785, Swem, *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, IV, 51.

[19] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVIII, 514-515. Virginia did not send an agent to represent her.

[20] *ASPIA*, IV, 16; Arthur, 253-254.

[21] *N. C. S. R.*, XVII, 566-567.

[22] *ASPIA*, IV, 17-18, McGillivray to Pickens, Sept. 5, 1785.

[23] Ibid., 16; Pickett, II, 67.

[24] Pickett, II, 67-71; *ASPIA*, IV, 15; HM-PC 23, Pickens to McGillivray, Oct. 20, 1786. (Used by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. All numbered items with the prefix HM-PC hereinafter cited are from this collection.)

[25] *Skyagunsta*, 129.

[26] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVII, 568. Col. Vander Horst to William Blount, Nov. 12, 1785.

[27] *ASPIA*, IV, 40-46.

[28] Vandiver, Louise Ayer, *Traditions and History of Anderson Co.*, 67.

[29] *ASPIA*, IV, 40-43, 49.

[30] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, IX, 48. Published by Ga. Hist. Society, Savannah, 1916 (Cited hereafter as Letters of B. H.).

[31] *ASPIA*, IV, 49-50. Pickens gave them eighteen discarded army coats.

[32] Ibid.; *N. C. S. R.*, XVIII, 490-491.

[33] *ASPIA*, IV, 48-49; Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 463.

[34] *ASPIA*, IV, 50-52.

[35] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens and Hawkins to Moultrie, Hopewell, Jan. 6, 1786.

[36] S. C. Hist. Com., *Journal of the House of Representatives*, March 11, 14, 1786.

[37] Simms, 398; Wallace, 345.

[38] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XVIII, 657. Gov. Moultrie to Gov. Caswell of N. C., July, 1786.

[39] Day, *The Pickens Family*, 72-73.

[40] *ASPIA*, IV, 14.

XV Negotiations with McGillivray

[1] Pickett, II, 74.

[2] Ibid., 78; *ASPIA*, IV, 23-24.

[3] HM-PC 24, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, July 4, 1787; HM-PC 23, Pickens to McGillivray, Oct. 20, 1786.

[4] SCL, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Sept. 12, 1787; Swem, *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, IV, 267, Col. Benjamin to Gov. Randolph, Logan Co., April 14, 1787.

[5] S. C. Hist. Com., Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Sept. 27, 1787; HM-PC 4, Extract from *Minutes of the Council.*

[6] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, Oct. 6, 1787; HM-PC 42, Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Pickens, Oct. 31, 1787.

[7] SCL, Pickens to Capt. John Norwood, Hopewell, Oct. 10, 1787.

[8] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Dec. 8, 1788.

[9] Ibid., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Hopewell, Oct. 15, 1787.

[10] MS Division, S. C. Miscellany, Library of Congress, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, Nov. 7, 1787.

[11] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, Oct. 6, 1787. Pickens reviewed a recent letter he had written to McGillivray.

[12] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Hopewell, Oct. 15, 1787.

[13] S. C. Hist. Com., A Talk to Pickens from Badger and his warriors, Sept. 25, 1787.

[14] Ibid., A Talk to Pickens from Corn Tassel and Hanging Maw, Choto, Sept. 24, 1787.

[15] Ibid., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Hopewell, Oct. 15, 1787.

[16] Pickett, II, 88.

[17] *ASPIA*, IV, 22, 29.

[18] Pickett, II, 78-79.

[19] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Hopewell, Dec. 18, 1787.

[20] Ibid., Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Pickens, Long Cane, Dec. 19, 1787.

[21] Ibid., Pickens to McGillivray, Dec. 24, 1787.

[22] HM-PC 36, McGillivray to Pickens, Little Tallassee, Jan. 2, 1788.

[23] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Nov. 25, 1811. Pickens was made Major General of the First Division of State Militia.

[24] S. C. Hist. Com., McGillivray to Pickens, Feb. 25, 1788.

[25] Ibid., A Talk from Pickens and Mathews to the chiefs of the Creek Nation, Fort Charlotte, March 29, 1788.

[26] HM-PC 26, Pickens and Mathews to George Whitfield, March 29, 1788.

[27] Ibid., 27, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, May 2, 1788.

[28] HM-PC 27, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, May 2, 1788.

[29] S. C. Hist. Com., A Talk from McGillivray to Pickens and Mathews, June 4, 1788.

[30] Ibid., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, July 10, 1788. The same letter, bearing the date of June 10, 1788, is number HM-PC 29 in the Huntington Library. An error was evidently made when one or the other was copied.

[31] Ibid., McGillivray to Pickens, Winn, and Mathews, Aug. 12, 1788.

[32] *ASPIA*, IV, 29.

[33] S. C. Hist. Com., McGillivray to Pickens, Winn, and Mathews, Sept. 13, 1788; HSP (Hist. Society of Pa.), Pickens to Gen. Martin, Long Cane, Nov. 10, 1788.

[34] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 211; Wallace, 339.

[35] Hays, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks, and Treaties*, 1705-1839. Pickens, Winn, and Mathews to McGillivray and headmen of the Creek Nation, Hopewell, Nov. 28, 1788, 189-191.

[36] HM-PC 28, Winn to Pickens, May 9, 1789.

[37] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, July 10, 1788; HM-PC 28, Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Canes, May 29, 1788.

[38] S. C. Hist. Com., Jobber's Son to Pickens, June 30, 1788; HM-PC 43, Pinckney to Pickens, Aug. 30, 1788.

[39] S. C. Hist. Com., A Talk to Pickens from Hanging Maw and the Prince of Notoly, June 25, 1788.

[40] Ibid., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, July 10, 1788.

[41] Ibid., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Dec. 8, 1788.

[42] Saunders, *N. C. S. R.*, XXI, 522. Joseph Martin to Gov. Johnson of N. C.

[43] S. C. Hist. Com., Pickens to Gov. Thomas Pinckney, Long Cane, Dec. 8, 1788.

XVI Rock Landing and the Treaty of New York

[1] Pickett, II, 88-89. John Steele was appointed later.

[2] *ASPIA*, IV, 31.

[3] Hays, *Creek Indians: Letters, Talks, and Treaties, 1705-1839*, 198.

[4] *ASPIA*, IV, 34.

[5] Ibid., Pickens and Osborn to Pres. Washington, Rock Landing, June 30, 1789, 34.

[6] Ibid., 37.

[7] Ibid., Pickens and Osborn to Headmen, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Creek Nation, June 29, 1789.

[8] Ibid., Pickens and Osborn to McGillivray, 37-38.

[9] Ibid., Pickens and Osborn to Pres. Washington, June 30, 1789, 34.

[10] Ibid., 38.

[11] Panton, Leslie and Co. was an English trading firm that operated extensively in the Creek and Cherokee nations out of Pensacola and Mobile.

[12] Ibid., IV, 31; Pickett, II, 88-89.

[13] *ASPIA*, IV, 65.

[14] Ibid., 67.

[15] Ibid., 71; Sparks, *Correspondence*, 273, Humphrey to Washington, Rock Landing, Sept. 21, 1789.

[16] *ASPIA*, IV, 72; Arthur, 258.

[17] *ASPIA*, IV, 73; Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 49 footnote.

[18] *ASPIA*, IV, 72.

[19] Pickett, II, 99.

[20] *ASPIA*, IV, 73; Arthur, 260. Before the commissioners left New York, the federal government had instructed them to pay a fair price for the territory.

[21] *ASPIA*, IV, 73.

[22] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Joseph Martin, Oct. 12, 1789.

[23] Ibid.; Arthur, 260; *ASPIA*, IV, 74.

[24] Ibid.; Sparks, *Correspondence*, 281. Humphreys to George Washington, Rock Landing, Sept. 21, 1789.

[25] *ASPIA*, IV, 76. Pickens and Osborn to New York commissioners, Sept. 26, 1789.

[26] Pickett, II, 73, 101-103.

[27] Pickens Papers. Francis W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[28] Arthur, 263-264.

[29] Wallace, 345-347.

[30] Pickett, II, 106-107.

[31] Arthur, 264; Pickett, II, 107.

[32] *ASPIA*, IV, 80-82.

[33] Pickett, II, 109-110.

[34] Arthur, 282.

[35] *Minutes of Executive Department, 1790*, Deposition of John Bradshaw.

[36] Ibid.; Arthur, 283, 294-295. General Clark was eventually forced out.

[37] *Skyagunsta*, 139.

[38] Simms, 399. Charles Pinckney took office in 1789.

[39] Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist*, 24.

[40] Wallace, 345-347.

[41] Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist*, 24; Chapman, 156-157.

[42] *Skyagunsta*, 138-139.

[43] SCL, Pickens order, May 17, 1792, to William McKinley to pay John Caldwell 100 pounds for building gaol of Washington District.

[44] Pickensville was at the edge of the present town of Easley.

[45] Robert Anderson, Benjamin Cleveland, John Wilson, and William Halbert were the other four.

[46] Day, *The Pickens Family*, 34, 41, 55. Ezekiel was in college, Mary had married John Harris, and Ann had married John Simpson.

[47] Office of the Secretary of Princeton University. Courtesy of Mary Pochyle.

XVII The Nashville Conference

[1] *Skyagunsta*, 140. Charles Pinckney to Washington, Feb. 9, 1792.

[2] *ASPIA*, IV, 251-254.

[3] Ibid., 267. Pickens to Blount, May 16, 1792.

[4] Pickens Papers. Pickens to William Hort, May 29, 1792. Hort was formerly commissary and forage master for General Greene.

[5] Ibid., Pickens to Lee, Nov. 25, 1811.

[6] *ASPIA*, IV, 270, 258. Washington to Jefferson, Aug. 23, 1792; HSP, Pickens to Knox, Knoxville, Aug. 22, 1792; *Virginia State Papers*, VI, 38, Knox to James Wood, Lt. Gov. of Va., Aug. 13, 1792.

[7] Ibid., 59, Knox to governor of Va., Sept. 15, 1792; Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 566, 598-599.

[8] *ASPIA*, IV, 286-287.

[9] Ibid., 281; HSP, Pickens to Knox, Aug. 22, 1792.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *ASPIA*, IV, 258, Knox to Pickens, Aug. 15, 1792.

[12] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 211. Shaw, a graduate of Princeton, was studying Indian life under a U. S. commission.

[13] *ASPIA*, IV, 316-317.

[14] Ibid., 288, Blount to Knox, Sept. 26, 1792.

[15] Ibid., 363.

[16] *ASPIA*, IV, 369. McGillivray died in 1793.

[17] Swem, *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, VI, Knox to governor of Tenn. or Va., July 25, 1793; William Talham to Gov. Richmond, July 30, 1793.

[18] Sparks, *Correspondence*, 434-435, Washington to Moultrie, Aug. 28, 1793.

[19] *Skyagunsta*, 143.

XVIII Congressman Andrew Pickens

[1] Hennig, 183, 185.

[2] Chapman, *History of Edgefield Co.*, 42.

[3] *Press and Banner*, Abbeville, S. C., May 17, 1786. First appeared in Unionville *Times*. An account of General Pickens as he passed through the writer's town on his way to Congress. By courtesy of H. L. Watson, Editor of the *Index Journal*, Greenwood, S. C.

[4] *Annals of Congress, Debates and Proceedings*, IV, 1793-1795 (1834), Washington. Gales and Seaton. (Cited hereafter as *Annals of Congress*), 139.

[5] Ibid., 142; Marshall, *Life of Washington*, 315.

[6] Ibid., 305-306.

[7] *Annals of Congress*, 431.

[8] Ibid., 459, 154; Marshall, *Life of Washington*, 315.

[9] *Ibid.*, 318.

[10] Ibid., 318, 325.

[11] *Annals of Congress*, 602.

[12] Ibid., 528, 697, 784.

[13] *ASPIA*, IV, 281; Ramsay, *Annals of Tenn.*, 566, 598-599.

[14] HM-PC 31, Pickens to Sec. Knox, Hopewell, Sept. 6, 1794. Wafford reached Hopewell on August 10th.

[15] HM-PC 10, Knox to Pickens, War Dept., June 27, 1794.

[16] HM-PC 31, Pickens to Knox, Hopewell, Sept. 6, 1794.

[17] *Annals of Congress*, 884.

[18] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, 352.

[19] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, 352, 358.

[20] *Annals of Congress*, 958-966, 1256, 1265, 1279.

[21] *Skyagunsta*, 144.

[22] *Annual Report of American Historical Assn., 1896*, I. Edward Hooker's Diary, 1805-1808, 901.

XIX Pickens Settles Boundary Disputes

[1] *ASPIA*, IV, 551-552, 560.

[2] Ibid., 552-555, 560-561. The companies were the Georgia Company, Georgia-Mississippi Company, Upper Mississippi Company, and the Tennessee Company.

[3] HM-PC 38, James McHenry to Pickens, March 3, 1796; Ibid., 39, McHenry to governor of Ga., March 3, 1796.

[4] *ASPIA*, IV, 589-596, 598.

[5] Ibid.; Pickett, 166-167.

[6] *ASPIA*, IV, 496, 598.

[7] Pickett, II, 167; *ASPIA*, IV, 609-610.

[8] Ibid., 611-612.

[9] Ibid., 612-616; Pickett, II, 167.

[10] *ASPIA*, I, *Foreign Relations*, 30.

[11] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, IX, Georgia Historical Society, 13-14.

[12] *ASPIA*, Foreign Relations, 30.

[13] *Skyagunsta*, 145.

[14] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Nov. 25, 1811; *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 120.

[15] Ibid.; 94.

[16] *Journal of the House of Rep., 1796*, 327. Hist. Com., Columbia.

[17] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 94-95.

[18] Ibid., 104-105.

[19] Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[20] Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 105-130, 136, 156-157.

[21] Ibid., 157-158. Pickens and Hawkins to Gov. Sevier, Tellico, April 16, 1797; Em. (1170) Hawkins and Pickens to John Sevier, April 16, 1797.

[22] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 130-131.

[23] Ibid., 130, 158-159. Pickens and Hawkins to Sec. of War.

[24] Ibid., 153-154, 159-162.

[25] Ibid.; *Skyagunsta*, 147.

[26] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 165-166.

[27] *Journal of Pickens and Hawkins*, 1797. Part of original is in South Caroliniana Library, Columbia.

[28] HM-PC 19; HM-PC 6.

[29] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, November 25, 1811.

[30] HM-PC 17. William Simmons, Dept. of War, to Pickens, April 12, 1802.

[31] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 286-287.

XX Andrew Pickens — Private Citizen

[1] HM-PC (no number); HM-PC 35.

[2] Duke, Pickens to Ezekiel Pickens, June 16, 1798.

[3] Bacon Collection. Pickens to Andrew Pickens, Jr., Hopewell, April 12, 1800.

[4] Ibid., Pickens to Andrew Pickens, Jr., Hopewell, June 15, 1801; *Historical Catalog of Brown University, 1764-1914*, Providence, R. I. Class of 1801; Bachelor of Arts; Phi Beta Kappa. Courtesy of Milton E. Noble.

[5] Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847; *Skyagunsta*, 155.

[6] Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, I, 560.

[7] *Skyagunsta*, 149.

[8] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, S. C., Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1798; Thursday, Oct. 16, 1798.

[9] Ibid., Thursday, Dec. 6, 1798.

[10] Ibid., Tuesday, Dec. 11, 1798. Pickens received 63 votes, Pinckney 79.

[11] *Public Lands*, I, 104.

[12] HM-PC (no number), Andrew Pickens to Col. Marinus Willett, Hopewell, August 15, 1801.

[13] John Ewing Colhoun went to the U. S. Senate.

[14] HM-PC (no number) Pickens to Col. Marinus Willett, Hopewell, August 3, 1801.

XXI Later Indian Treaties

[1] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 360.

[2] *ASPIA*, IV, 650. Dearborn to Pickens, April 3, 1801.

[3] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 376-377. Hawkins to Sec. of War and Thomas Jefferson; HM-PC (no number), Pickens to Col. Marinus Willett, Hopewell, Aug. 15, 1801.

[4] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 370-384; SCL, Bacon Col., Pickens to John E. Colhoun, U. S. Senator in Washington, Hopewell, Feb. 13, 1802.

[5] Perry, *Reminiscences*, 174.

[6] Pickens Papers. F. W. Pickens to Draper, Nov. 4, 1847.

[7] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 384-387.

[8] Ibid., 388; *ASPIA*, IV, 652.

[9] Ibid.; Kappla, *Indian Affairs*, II, 55-56.

[10] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 395. Hawkins to Dearborn, Nov. 4, 1801.

[11] Ibid., 410-412.

[12] Kappla, *Indian Affairs*, II, 56-58; *ASPIA*, IV, 660.

[13] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 412.

[14] Ibid., Hawkins to Dearborn, Fort Adams, Dec. 21, 1801, 412-413.

[15] SCL, Bacon Col., Pickens to John E. Colhoun, Hopewell, Feb. 13, 1802.

[16] Ibid., Pickens to Colhoun, March 13, 1802.

[17] Ibid., Pickens to Colhoun, Feb. 13, 1802.

[18] Pounds, 177.

[19] *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 423. Pickens and Hawkins to Gov. Tattnall, May 17, 1802.

[20] Hays, *Georgia Governor's Letter Book*, 1800-1802, 201-202. Gov. Tattnall to Pickens and Hawkins, May 21, 1802.

[21] *ASPIA*, IV, 678.

[22] Ibid., 648-681; Kappla, *Indian Affairs*, II, 58-59; Pickett, II, 181.

[23] *ASPIA*, IV, 680; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, Appendix CXXII, II.

[24] Hays, *Letters of B. H.*, IX, 70-72. Hawkins to Gov. John Milledge, of Ga.

XXII Skyagunsta at Tamassee

[1] S. C. Hist. Com., Index to Plats of Land owned by General Pickens; SCL, Pickens to John E. Colhoun, April 17, 1802, Bacon Col.

[2] Clemson College Library, Ezekiel Pickens to Mrs. Floride Colhoun, Sept. 7, 1804.

[3] Pickens to Colhoun, Feb. 13, 1802.

[4] Pickens to Colhoun, Hopewell, April 7, 1802.

[5] *Skyagunsta,* 155.

[6] Jaynes, Speech in *Tugaloo Tribune,* Westminster, S. C., June 27, 1933; Perry, *Reminiscences,* 173.

[7] Clemson College Library, Ezekiel Pickens to Mrs. Floride Colhoun, Sept. 27, 1805.

[8] *Monroe Pickens' Scrap Book.* Clipping. In this collection there is a faded newspaper picture of Tamassee.

[9] Leiding, *Historic Houses of South Carolina,* 300.

[10] *Annual Report of Am. Hist. Asso., 1896,* 902-903, Edward Hooker's Diary.

[11] Clemson College Library, Ezekiel Pickens to Mrs. Floride Colhoun, St. Thomas, July 11, 1806.

[12] *Monroe Pickens' Scrap Book,* Eliza Pickens' Papers.

[13] *Diary of an Unknown Traveller,* July 11, 1811.

[14] Jaynes, Address, *Tugaloo Tribune,* Westminster, S. C., June 27, 1930; Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes,* 452.

[15] *Monroe Pickens' Scrap Book,* Eliza Pickens' Papers.

[16] Jaynes, *The Old Waxhaws,* 15.

[17] Pickens Papers. Martin to Draper, Jan. 1, 1843.

[18] Boltwood, *Noble Genealogy,* 737.

[19] Pickens Papers. Martin to Draper, Jan. 1, 1843.

[20] Civil War governor of South Carolina.

[21] Jamison, *Calhoun Correspondence,* Nov. 24, 1805, 99-100.

[22] Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun:* Nationalist, 42.

[23] Day, *The Pickens Family,* 72.

[24] *Monroe Pickens' Scrap Book,* J. J. Pickens' Papers, Westminster, S. C. General Pickens gave the upper part of Hopewell plantation, with the home, to Andrew, Jr., the lower half to Ezekiel.

[25] Office of Judge of Probate, Anderson County, S. C. Judgment Roll, 547.

[26] SCL, Pickens to William W. Woodward (Philadelphia), Sept. 26, 1809; Pickens to John Ewing Colhoun, Hopewell, April 7, 1802, Bacon Collection.

[27] *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,* edited by J. Franklin Jameson, 110, 117-122.

[28] Ibid., 124.

[29] Pickens Papers. Francis Pickens to Lyman Draper, Feb. 9, 1845.

[30] *Journal of Southern History,* XVI, Letters of John C. Calhoun, edited by Alice Noble Waring, Calhoun to Patrick Noble, June 12, 1812, 64.

[31] Hartley, *Life of Marion . . . Moultrie and Pickens,* 286.

[32] SCL, Pickens to his son, Andrew, Jr., Columbia, S. C., Dec. 2, 1812. Bacon Collection. Andrew, Jr. was a colonel with 10th Cavalry, stationed at Salisbury, N. C.

[33] Ibid.; Clemson, George Bowie to Patrick Calhoun (brother of John C. Calhoun), Columbia, Nov. 28, 1812; Charleston, *Investigator,* Dec. 3, 1812, and Dec. 9, 1812.

[34] Hartley, *Life of Marion . . . Moultrie and Pickens*, 286; Perry, *Reminiscences*, 173. It is claimed by Perry and Hartley that Pickens received the nomination, but declined the honor.

[35] Day, *The Pickens Family*, 44-49.

[36] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Nov. 25, 1811.

[37] Family Records; *Skyagunsta*, 157.

[38] *Monroe Pickens' Scrapbook.* Paper by Eliza Pickens, Pendleton.

[39] Copied from stone by author.

[40] Pickens Papers. Martin to Draper, Jan. 1, 1843.

[41] Chapman, *History of S. C.*, 165.

[42] SCL, Pickens to William W. Woodward in Philadelphia, Sept. 26, 1809; Pa. Historical Society, Pickens to Woodward, Tamassee, Nov. 20, 1809.

[43] *City Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, Charleston, S. C., Friday morning, August 29, 1817. Obituary of General Pickens.

[44] Copied from the stone by the author.

[45] Pickens Papers. Pickens to Lee, Aug. 28, 1811.

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